

**ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY**  
**MAINTAINING THE HERITAGE LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY:**  
**THE CASE OF THE NEW DIASPORA TELUGUS IN LONDON**

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# **ABSTRACT**

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Maintaining the heritage language and identity:  
*The Case of New Diaspora Telugus in London*

This study explores the attitudes towards language and its maintenance by the first- and second-generation new diaspora (post-1947 immigration) Telugus living in London, UK. With a population of less than 10,000, Telugus are a sub-minority group living predominantly in the Hounslow and Newham areas, and the majority of them working in IT-related jobs. Based on their time of arrival (pre- and post-2000), two waves of participants, 109 in total, participated in this first sociological study of language in the UK. Using surveys, interviews and field observations, language use in domains and social networks, ethnolinguistic vitality, and perceptions about language and identity were studied.

Restricted use of the heritage language and a low vitality towards the own language group suggest that there is a rapid language shift within the second generation. The early first-generation migrants (wave 1) showed more integration into the dominant society and language shift is complete among their children. This was due to the dispersed settlement patterns, a small heritage language network, length of residence and favourable attitudes towards the dominant language and culture.

The first generation of wave 2 was observed to be more active as a group and have favourable attitudes towards the maintenance of their heritage language. Reasons for this include increased networking opportunities with the Telugus in London/UK, opportunities to live as cohesive communities, increased contact with India and advances in communication technology. Children of wave 2 were observed to have oracy skills; however, the high vitality assigned to the dominant group and the use of English among same-language friends suggests subtractive rather than additive bilingualism.

The new communication technologies, travels, kinship ties, media and cultural associations are allowing people to get together and celebrate their identity through festivals, films and cultural events. The study finds that there has been an increase in Telugu cultural activities around London in recent years. However, they do not seem to influence the language maintenance of the second generation of each wave. Findings suggest that language shift rather than maintenance is dominant. However, the identity of being a Telugu is maintained, regardless of linguistic ability.

Keywords: Telugu diaspora, language identity, linguistic vitality, language maintenance, language shift

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## **Abbreviations**

AI = (general) attitude index

AoA = age of arrival

AP = Andhra Pradesh

E or Eng = English

EGIDS = Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

EWAP = erstwhile Andhra Pradesh

DI = domain (language use) index

DL = dominant language = English

G = generation

G1 = first generation

G2 = second generation

HL = heritage language = Telugu

Ind = India

L1 = first/main/heritage/native language

LM = language maintenance

LMLS = language maintenance and shift studies

LoR = length of residence

LS = language shift

MT = mother tongue

NRIs = Non Resident Indians

ONS = Office of National Statistics

P = participant or respondent

PI = (language) proficiency index

RQ = research question

T or Tel = Telugu

TDP = Telugu Dēsam Party

TLG = Telangana

UK = United Kingdom

VI = (subjective ethnolinguistic) vitality index

W = wave

W/G = wave and generation

Wave 1 = those who arrived before the 1990s

Wave 2 = arrived later than Wave 1 and ongoing

## A Note on Transliteration

Vowels									
	Front		Central				Back		
	short	long	short	long	short	long	short	long	
High	i	ī					u	ū	
Mid	e	ē					o	ō	
Low			a	ā					
Diphthongs		ai							
		au							
Consonants									
	velar	palatal	retroflex		alveolar		dental		labial
stops	k kh	c ch	ṭ ṭh				t th		p ph
	g gh	j jh	ḍ ḍh				d dh		b bh
nasals	n	ṇ	ṇ		n				m
fricatives	h	ś	ṣ		s				
liquids			l		l r				
semivowels		y							v

## **Chapter 1: Introduction and Scope of Research**

The aim of this research study is to understand the factors of language maintenance and language shift (LMLS) of the new diaspora Telugus in London. Since no previous research on the Telugu community in Britain exists, this is a first attempt to investigate the self-reported behaviours and attitudes of the members towards their heritage language, Telugu, and the dominant language, English. The scope of the study does not cover the linguistic features of the Telugu language or of variation and change. It covers the attitudinal factors pertaining to the language use and how such usage relates to the identity of the Telugu community living in London.

London has been chosen as the location for the study because it is the most multi-ethnic, multilingual and multicultural geography in the UK, with a significant presence of Telugu speakers compared to any other urban or sub-urban location in the country. Like many migrant communities, the Telugu community in the UK does not exist as a clustered geographic settlement but is settled across the country. Therefore, confining this study to London, which has the highest number of Telugu speakers, settled mostly in the boroughs of Hounslow (1,370) and Newham (1,266), proves to be a better strategy in order to understand the collective attitudes and behaviour towards language maintenance and identity. It is also important to mention here that this study concerns itself with the new diaspora Telugu people. The old diaspora (see Section 2.5.2) community of Telugu migrants are not included because this LMLS study is about understanding the identity aspirations as a post-Raj phenomenon with the first generation coming from an Indian cultural and social base. The old diaspora, like the Telugu community based in Preston, were not direct immigrants from India but from Burma. Added to that, the population of the old diaspora Telugus is not very significant (approximately 200 to 300) compared to the 15,000-strong Telugu population settled in London alone. Due to such geographic and demographic challenges, it has been decided that a London-based study of the new diaspora Telugu community will prove to be a good contribution to the existing gap in knowledge.

### **1.1 Gap in Knowledge**

In the Dravidian family of languages, Telugu is the most spoken language (see Section 2.1.3). Additionally, this community has a significant diasporic presence. Bhaskar and Bhat (2003) note that Telugu people are keen on migrating to developed countries such as the US, Western European countries, Australia and New Zealand (also noted as Global

North in this study<sup>1</sup>) to take up highly skilled jobs, primarily in the medical and engineering fields (see Section 2.4.6). This practice of migration has been increasingly observed since the 1960s because of the demand for technically qualified labour in the destination countries and limited employment opportunities in the home countries.

Despite such habits of migration, specific sociolinguistic studies on the Telugu language communities have been few and far between, if not totally absent. Only two studies on the Telugu language community in a diasporic setting have surfaced in the review of the literature. The most significant was Prabhakaran's (1991; 1997; 1998) investigation into the language maintenance of the Hindu-Telugu community in the Natal province of South Africa. Prabhakaran's (1991) study deals with the old diaspora (colonial immigration) members of the Telugu community, who have very limited or no ties with India. The other study, by Kuncha and Bathula (2004), which is a working paper, explored the attitudes of the church-going Telugu mothers in maintaining and transmitting their heritage language in Auckland, New Zealand. At present, there is another linguistic/ethnographic study-in-progress by Bonta (2015) on the ancient Sri Lankan Telugu Gypsy community; however, this falls under the topic of language endangerment, not LMLS. Apart from these, there are no other diasporic linguistic studies on the Telugu community to my knowledge. It becomes quite clear that there is certainly no UK-based academic research on Telugu language maintenance and identity and this project aims to bridge this significant gap in knowledge.

## **1.2 Conceptual Framework**

As mentioned above, the new diaspora of the Telugus is a post-Raj phenomenon. In this section, the framework used to divide the participants in the study is explained briefly. Indian immigration can broadly be divided into three phases (Bhaskar and Bhat, 2007):

- i) Emigration to the colonies as indentured labour – prior to 1947 (the old diaspora)
- ii) Emigration of professionals such as doctors, engineers, scientists and students to developed countries such as the US, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand – 1950s to late 1990s
- iii) Emigration of software professionals to Europe and especially the US – late 1990s to now

The Telugus selected for this study are part of the Indian diaspora who migrated after the end of the British Raj, known as the new diaspora (see Section 2.5). Broadly, two phases of immigration have been identified based on the period of arrival to the UK.

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<sup>1</sup> 'At the end of the cold war in 1991, the concepts of Global North and Global South were introduced in the comparative study on development among nations. While the Global North implies the developed economies, the Global South implies the underdeveloped economies' (Odeh, 2010, p.340).

The first group were immigrants who arrived between the 1950s and 1980s and will be considered as Wave 1. The second group were immigrants who arrived after 1990 and will be considered as Wave 2 for the purpose of this study. More details on the rationale behind the selection are given in Section 2.5.2. Since language maintenance and shift are aspects of intergenerational language transmission (Haugen, 1953; Fishman, 1964; see Section 3.2), two generations of Telugus, the first generation and the second generation, are included in this study.

This study is enriched by the many sociolinguistic studies in heritage language maintenance and shift across the globe. Among such works, language maintenance of South Asian communities across the globe (Sridhar, 1988; Khemlani-David, 1998; Fernandez and Clyne, 2007) and in Britain (Hameed, 2005; 2011; Rasinger, 2005; 2007; 2012; Blackledge et al., 2008; Canagarajah, 2008) have contributed significantly to this knowledge. Specific case studies of LMLS among minority language communities in both indigenous settings (for example, Gal, 1979; Dorian 1981; Pandharipande, 2002) as well as migrant settings (for example, Clyne, 2003, in Australia; Yagmur et al., 2010, and Yagmur, 2011, in Australia and Europe, respectively) have been referred to during this research.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

A mixture of methods (quantitative and qualitative), based on widely used LMLS frameworks as detailed in the next section, are used to obtain the attitudinal perspectives associated with the maintenance of Telugu language and identity. This study takes a multidimensional approach to find answers to the following research questions (RQs):

- RQ1 Is Telugu reported as the dominant language of proficiency and usage by the first and second generations and does its use extend beyond the home?
- RQ2 Are there any differences in the vitality pertaining to the functionality and emotional importance assigned to Telugu and English by both generations?
- RQ3 Do both the first and second generations view their heritage language as an important aspect of their identity living in London/UK?
- RQ4 Do the Telugus transmit their heritage language to their children?

The answer to the last research question is actually a summation of the findings of the earlier RQs, in that it aims to understand if the heritage language, Telugu, is being maintained beyond the first generation or not.

### **1.4 Theoretical Framework and Methodology**

This present work falls under the premise of the sociology of language studies. Sociology of language (SoL) is the study of the relationship between language and society. Fishman (1972, p.7) defines the field as study that ‘examines the interaction between [...]

the use of language and the social organization of behaviour'. He states that understanding the attitudes and behaviours of language users is integral to the field of sociology of language because it is this extra-structural understanding that informs us more about the present and future of a particular language. SoL usually takes a macro-societal approach in order to investigate the issues pertaining to language contact, multilingualism, LMLS, language attitudes, diglossia and language policy and planning (Chen, 1997) (see literature review, Sections 3.1–3.4).

Studies in LMLS also focus on specific communities and take into account different factors such as WHERE the heritage language is used, WHAT attitudes the speakers have towards their language (Gal, 1979) and HOW their social networks reinforce their language use, etc. (Milroy, 1987). These studies are microscopic in nature and comment on the linguistic behaviours of a group by recruiting participants and employing various methods such as surveys, interviews and other sources. Such studies usually employ academically tested theoretical concepts to investigate the attitudes and behaviours towards the languages in question.

This study makes use of Giles et al.'s (1977) ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) and Bourhis et al.'s (1981) subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV) measurement (cf. Lawson and Sachdev, 2004; Hameed, 2005; Rasinger, 2007; 2012; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001) as a theoretical framework to measure the attitudes of the participants towards the two languages. A detailed review of EV theory is presented in Chapter 4, Sections 3 and 4. Fishman's (1964) habitual and domains of language use framework has proved to be a valuable heuristic for various LMLS studies for over three decades (cf. Sridhar, 1988; Hameed, 2005; Canagarajah, 2008). In this study, too, this overarching framework of domains and language use within them has proven to be useful in explaining the language behaviours of the participants (see Section 3.4 for the review and Section 6.3 for the results and discussion).

The aspect of identity is a very difficult concept to measure because of the changing perceptions people have of their identities over time. However, language and culture are often seen as being closely related and mutually dependant in informing someone's identity. In this backdrop, the role culture plays in shaping the linguistic identity of the Telugus remains a topic that needs investigating. For this reason, Smolicz's (1981) core value theory (cf. Khemlani-David, 1998; Zentella, 1997; Clyne, 2003) proves to be a valuable yardstick that can be used to discuss the importance given to the heritage language by the first- and second-generation participants in reporting their identities. A detailed review of core value theory along with the other concepts from social-psychology such as accommodation theory (Giles et al., 1973) and acculturation theory (Schumann,



1986; Berry, 1987) are discussed in Chapter 4, Section 5. Apart from these popular and useful frameworks, a further attempt is made to understand this very aspect of identity from a historical, political and cultural perspective. The discussion pertaining to these aspects is provided in Chapter 7, Section 2.

The questionnaire incorporates language proficiency in Telugu and English to determine the extent of bilingualism, language use in different domains of interaction, including social network contacts (partly based on Milroy's (1987) social network theory) as part of the first topical subdivision. For further analysis of the other two topical subdivisions, ethnolinguistic vitality theory has been utilised.

## **1.5 Chapterisation**

Chapter 2 introduces the geographic, linguistic, historical, political and socio-cultural aspects of Telugus, both at source and the diaspora. Chapter 3 provides an extensive review of the literature pertinent to the field of LMLS, including a thorough review of a few Dravidian language case studies in the field. This helps to understand what may be expected of the Telugu group. Chapter 4 contains the review of the literature pertaining to attitudes, including EV theory and the evaluation of the Telugu group in London based on this framework. Chapter 5 explains the methodology in great detail, including the statistical tools used. It acts as a repository of all the statistical information required to read the subsequent analysis chapters. Chapter 6 contains the analysis and discussion of habitual language use, noted as *self-reported language behaviour* analysis, which looks at the bilingual proficiency and domain language use of both waves and generations. Chapter 7 contains *self-reported language attitude* analysis of the ethnolinguistic vitality data, the functional and emotional importance of the heritage and dominant language, including the perceptions of identity, and core value. Finally, Chapter 8 concludes the overall findings with respect to the research questions, other gaps and further areas for study.

## Chapter 2: Introduction to Telugu Language, Culture and People

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the geographic, linguistic, historical, political and socio-cultural background of the Telugus. This chapter provides the background required to understand the linguistic and cultural attitudes discussed in this study. A detailed description of the Indian and Telugu diaspora as well the conceptual framework introduced in the introduction are discussed in this chapter.

The most important aspects that are relevant to understanding the attitudes of the Telugu group are the role the Telugu language played in shaping the geography (see Section 2.3), the culture (Section 2.4) and the migratory trends (Section 2.5). The first two sections (Sections 2.1 and 2.2) provide only the necessary background to the overall Telugu community. Understanding the different Telugu regions is essential because the migrant Telugu community members in this study are from both regions described in Section 2.1. The socio-political factors in these regions appear to influence the attitudes and activities even in the UK, as found in the course of the fieldwork. For this reason, understanding the regional, linguistic, socio-political, cultural and diasporic factors is essential to understand the language maintenance and identity factors of the group in question.

### 2.1 Telugu Region

Telugu is one of the 'principal cognate Dravidian languages' (Forrester, 1966, p.21) now spoken mainly in two southern states, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. The other Dravidian languages are Tamil (spoken predominantly in Tamil Nadu), Kannada (in Karnataka) and Malayalam (in Kerala).

In Andhra Pradesh (AP) and Telangana (TG), Telugu is the numerically dominant as well as official language. Until 1 June 2014, both of these states existed as Andhra Pradesh (in this thesis referred to as the *erstwhile Andhra Pradesh* or simply EWAP).

#### 2.1.1. Current-day Andhra Pradesh State

The map on the right-hand side of Figure 2.2 below shows the newly carved out Andhra Pradesh state, located in the mid-south-eastern part of India. Its neighbouring states are Odisha and Chhattisgarh in the north, Telangana and Karnataka in the west, Tamil Nadu in the south and the Bay of Bengal in the east. With a population of 49.4 million and an area of 160,200 sq.km, its population density is 308 persons per square kilometre. AP has

13 districts in total, not including Yanam.<sup>2</sup> The current state of Andhra Pradesh is comprised of two regions:

- 1) Coastal Andhra – with nine districts (north to south: Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Vishakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Prakasam and Nellore)
- 2) Rayalaseema – four districts (north to south: Kurnool, Anantapur, Kadapa and Chittoor)

### **2.1.2 Current-day Telangana State**

Telangana is the newest Indian state formed on 2 June 2014 (see left-hand side of Figure 2.1 below). It is a landlocked south-central Indian state. The neighbouring states are Odisha and Chhattisgarh to the north, Karnataka and Maharashtra in the west and Andhra Pradesh to the south and east. With a population of 35.1 million and an area of 114,840 sq.km, its population density is 307 persons per square kilometres. TG has 10 districts: Adilabad, Nizambad, Karimnagar, Medak, Warangal, Khammam, Ranga Reddy, Hyderabad, Nalgonda and Mehboobnagar.

### **2.1.3 Population**

The total population of the dominant Telugu-speaking regions (TG and AP) is 84,665,533, which is more than the population of the United Kingdom (64.1 million as per the 2013 estimate). This region has the fifth-highest population in India. However, the decadal rate of population growth has been much less than the total rate of growth in India (A.P – 11.10 and India – 17.64). The density of population, which is about 308 persons per square kilometre, is also less than the overall density of the country, which is 382. One of the worrying issues of the 2011 census issue was the decline in the male to female gender ratio, in which India stands at 940 females to 1,000 males. However, Andhra Pradesh is one of the few states in India with a much healthier gender ratio at 992 females to 1,000 males, which is greater than the world gender ratio of 984 females to 1,000 males. Having said that, the child gender ratio in Andhra Pradesh declined from 961 in 2001 to 943 in 2011.

(Data sources including the state maps: Government of AP, 2014, and Government of Telangana, 2014).

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<sup>2</sup> Yanam is a non-contiguous part of the union territory of Puducherry (erstwhile Pondicherry).



Fig 2.1: (On the left) Telangana state showing Hyderabad, the capital of both states (on the right); Fig 2.2: Andhra Pradesh since 2 June 2014, dotted line demarcating Coastal Andhra on the right-hand side and Rayalseema on the left.

#### 2.1.4 English Education in the Telugu Region

The literacy rate of the country was reported at 74.04% in the 2011 Census. Andhra Pradesh has one of the lowest (bottom five) rates of literacy at 67.7% (males 75.56% and females 59.74%) (CensusIndia, 2011). This is despite the fact that Andhra Pradesh is one of the few states with more educational institutions compared to rest of the country. The Right to Education Act (RTE Act) of 2009 (ratified in 2010) guarantees free and compulsory education to children between the ages of 6 and 14 years. The Young Lives project survey (2014) of Oxford University released its findings after the state had been bifurcated. This report of united Andhra Pradesh compared data collected in 2013 with that of 2006.

The report states that, 'While parents have high hopes for their children's education and parental aspirations for "English medium" education for their children has been one of the driving forces towards private schooling' (Young Lives, 2014, p.3). An executive decision to teach English as a second language in government-run schools from the first year at school instead of the third as it was earlier, was made in 2011 by the state Ministry of Primary Education. The reason behind this decision was to provide access to English to children from the poorer sections of society to compete with the students of private schools. All of this shows the importance given to English medium education in Andhra Pradesh in both privately and publicly run schools.

#### 2.2 Telugu Language

With a population of close to 74 million in India alone (CensusIndia, 2001a), Telugu is the third most spoken language in India (ibid.) and ranks fifteenth in the world (Lewis, Simons and Fennig, 2015). The Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) used by Ethnologue, assigns level 2 (label: provincial) to Telugu, which means that it is 'used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative subdivisions of a nation' (ibid.). The current Telugu-speaking population could be over 80

million in tandem with the population growth; however, we do not have the updated statistics from the Linguistic Survey of India from 2011 (as of December 2015). Other than in India, Telugu is spoken in countries such as Bahrain, Canada, Fiji, Malaysia, Mauritius, Singapore, South Africa, the United Arab Emirates, the United States, the United Kingdom, etc. (ibid.).

Telugu is also one of the six languages with classical language<sup>3</sup> status in India. It is the first official language of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, with Urdu being the second. It is used for various government functions (although English is also used quite extensively too). According to the three-language formula, Telugu should be learnt as the first language (L1), followed by Hindi as L2 and then English as L3 by students whose mother tongue is Telugu; however, this is only applicable if the medium of education is Telugu. One of the contentious points mentioned in the Public Report on Basic Education in India is that students can study in English-medium schools with an option to not choose their native language as the first language (PROBE report, 1998).

There is sufficient evidence to show that this three-language formula in all its honesty has not been able to make the difference for which it was intended (Centre for Linguistic Minorities, 2011). The recent decisions by the Adhikara Bhasha Sangam (Official language Commission) to make Telugu compulsory in all schools in the state and the need to display the names of public, private and commercial establishments in the Telugu language in the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh may be seen as attempts to give more importance to Telugu in the public space (*Times of India*, 2012).

### **2.2.1 Linguistic Composition of the Telugu-speaking Region**

Statistics on the linguistic composition of AP and TG are yet to be made available by the Linguistic Survey of India. Therefore, it is difficult to determine the exact number of Telugu speakers in the respective states. As per the 2001 report, there are about 65 million (87.8%) Telugu speakers in the EWAP, with a total population of 74 million. The current population of both states is 84.6 million. Urdu is the second official language of the state and has approximately 6.5 million speakers as per the 2001 census. English was the most reported first subsidiary language (that is, second most used language after the mother tongue) of 10% (7.7 million) of those who reported Telugu as their first language throughout India (not just the EWAP). Of this population, 63% were men and 37% were

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<sup>3</sup> Classical language status is accorded to languages with high antiquity, ancient literature, original literary traditions and a clear distinction between the modern and classical languages. So far, six languages have been declared as classical languages: Sanskrit, Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Odiya.

women. Interestingly, Hindi, the main official language of India, was reported as the first subsidiary language by only 5% of the Telugu speakers, with the same gender percentages as English. Men appear to have reported more bilingualism in the Telugu-English-Hindi triad compared to women.

The following table (2.1) shows the top eight languages reported as first subsidiary languages by the mother tongue speakers of Telugu.

Language	Total	Male	Female	Tot%	Male%	Fem%
1. ENGLISH	7,752,042	4,894,997	2,857,045	10.48%	6.61%	3.86%
2. HINDI	3,972,767	2,532,707	1,440,060	5.37%	3.42%	1.95%
3. KANNADA	2,837,253	1,485,599	1,351,654	3.83%	2.01%	1.83%
4. TAMIL	2,610,009	1,337,909	1,272,100	3.53%	1.81%	1.72%
5. MARATHI	633,973	333,086	300,887	0.86%	0.45%	0.41%
6. ORIYA	419,705	223,654	196,051	0.57%	0.30%	0.26%
7. URDU	168,095	107,072	61,023	0.23%	0.14%	0.08%

Table 2.1: First subsidiary language reported by mother tongue speakers of Telugu

Source: Census 2001: C-17 bilingualism and trilingualism data

Kannada, Tamil, Marathi and Odiya are the official languages of the neighbouring states. TG and AP share the longest borders with Karnataka, where Kannada is spoken. In the same line, Hindi is also the official language of Chhattisgarh; however, the knowledge of Hindi comes more from schooling because Hindi is taught as a second or third language as per the three-language formula recommended by the Indian government (Centre for Linguistic Minorities, 2011). English is widely used in higher education, administration and business. Urdu used to be the official language in the Telangana region during the Nizam rule until the districts of Telangana were merged to form the EWAP in 1956.

The following table (2.2) shows the Telugu-speaking population in the EWAP and in India, compared with the total population from, 1971 to 2001. In 1971, the number of Telugu speakers and the population of AP seemed to be the same. However, Krishnamurti (1978) reported that there were approximately 43.4 million Telugu speakers in the state as per the 1971 census report. Unfortunately, this figure is not available from the current archives on the Indian census database. Therefore, the 1971 numbers below (Table 2.2) are questionable.

Data on Telugu language from 1971–2001 India Census				
Census decade	1971	1981	1991	2001
Population of India	548,159,652	683,329,097	846,421,039	1,028,737,436
Population of EWAP (% of Indian population)	44,756,923 (8.16%)	53,551,026 (7.84%)	66,508,008 (7.86%)	75,727,541 (7.37%)
Tel as MT in India - number	44,756,923 (8.16%)	50,624,611 (7.61%)	66,017,615 (7.87%)	74,002,856 (7.21%)
Tel as MT in EWAP - number	43,400,000 (85%)	45,000,000 (84%)	56,438,695 (85%)	63,904,791 (84%)

Table 2.2: Key statistics of mother tongue speakers of Telugu from 1971 to 2001

EWAP      Erstwhile AP (AP + Telangana)  
MT        Mother tongue  
Tel        Telugu

Compared to the population of India, the percentage of Telugu speakers was 7.37 in 2001, which was approximately 75.7 million. On the one hand, there has been a steady decline in the Telugu-speaking population in the last four decades, although Telugu still maintains the position of the third most spoken language in India. On the other hand, the Telugu-speaking population in the EWAP has remained more or less constant (84% to 85%). Interestingly, the number of Telugu speakers outside the EWAP has been on the rise; but, as Krishnamurti (1978) notes, this could be due to the changes in the methodology of the survey collection or increased immigration from the EWAP to other states. It is difficult to affirm the exact reasons behind this increase since there is very little supportive data available. One important point to note, however, is that the population of the EWAP increased by approximately 31 million between 1971 and 2001, though the number of Telugu speakers in AP increased by only 20.5 million, suggesting a disproportionate relationship between the overall EWAP population and the Telugu-speaking population.

### 2.2.2 History of the Telugu Language

Telugus, or Andhras, are the people whose first language is Telugu (also known as Andhramu, Trilingam, Tenugu, Gentu, etc.). Telugu is the one of the four major Dravidian languages spoken in India. According to Ethnologue, the Dravidian family comprises more than two-dozen languages, spreading from Sri Lanka in the south, to Nepal in the north, Bihar in the northeast, to Pakistan in the northwest (Lewis et al., 2013). On the basis of comparative and historical study of phonology and morphology, the entire Dravidian family of languages is classified into three sub-groups.

These sub-groups and their members are:

- South Dravidian: *Tamil, Malayalam, Irula, Kodagu, Kurumba, Toda, Kota, Badaga, Kannada, Koraga and Tulu*
- South Central Dravidian: *Telugu, Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Pengo and Manda*
- Central Dravidian: *Kolami, Naikri, Naiki, Parji, Ollari and Gadaba*
- North Dravidian: *Kurukh, Malto and Brahui*

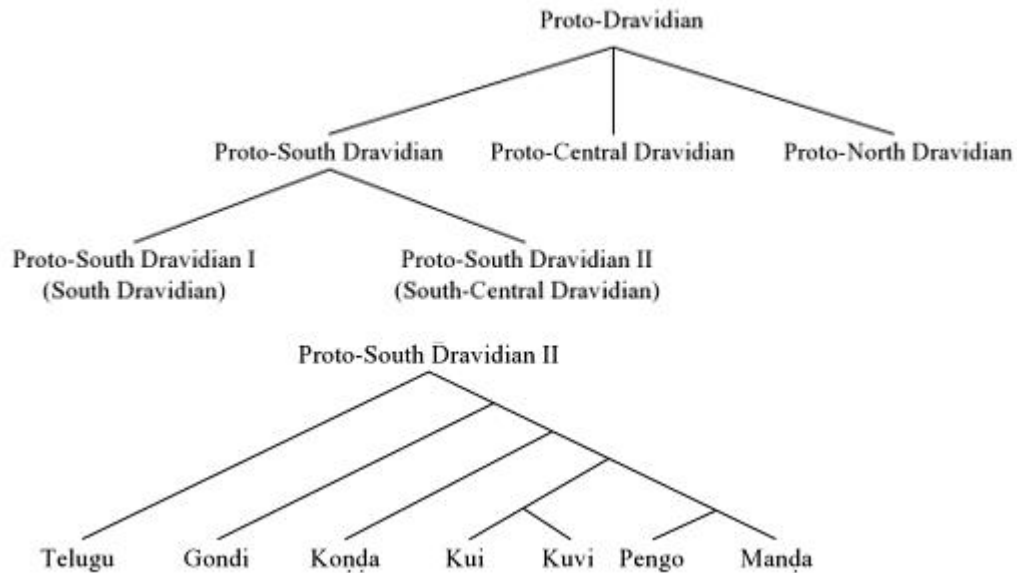


Fig 2.3: Illustration of the relationship between Proto-Dravidian and Telugu (source: Krishnamurti, 2003)

It was initially thought that Telugu was an Indo-Aryan language, meaning that it originated from Sanskrit; however, later research proved that the Dravidian languages had a separate origin (Arden, 1905). Robert Caldwell (1856, as cited in Krishnamurti, 2003, pp.1–2) was the first person to use the term ‘Dravida’ to mean all languages belonging to this family. In some ancient Indian texts, such as Kumārilabhaṭṭa’s *Tantravārttika* (7<sup>th</sup> century CE), Bharata’s *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Manusmṛti* and *Mahābhārata*, this term was used to refer to a different group of people inhabiting the southern regions of the subcontinent.

However, whether Telugu has Dravidian origins or Sanskritic origins is still a hot topic for debate. One of the reasons for this controversy, as stated by Trautman (1999, p.67), was because it was due to Telugu that the proof of differences between Sanskrit and Dravidian emerged. ‘[The] Telugu language is a kind of middle ground between Tamil, whose non-Sanskritic character was far easier to make out, and Sanskrit itself’. I call this the hot topic because, by acknowledging the Dravidian origin, one must distance oneself from the Sanskritic tradition as being different from one’s own. Investigating this controversy does not fit into the scope of the study; however, it does shed light on the fact that Telugu is as much influenced by Sanskrit as is Dravidian, if not more.



## A Note on Tenglish

In recent times, a new literary form of Telugu, known as *Tenglish*, has been gradually gaining popularity. *Tenglish* is used in an e-commerce website selling Telugu books, and surprisingly quite a few popular books have been transliterated from the Brahmi script to Tenglish. It becomes clear that the coinage is a fusion of Telugu and English. Usually, such portmanteaus (or blends) of language labels are used in a general sense for the spoken varieties such as Hinglish (Hindi and English) and Spanglish (Spanish and English), etc. Tenglish, however, is not used as an indicator of a spoken variety on this website. On the contrary, it is used to mean the transliteration of Telugu into Roman script with the added diacritics such as the letters listed in the initial *Note on Transliteration* supplied in this thesis. The introduction of Tenglish may be seen as one way of maintaining the motivation of reading Telugu literature for those who cannot read or write the Brahmi script but can understand Telugu.



Fig 2.4: An example of a Tenglish book (a travel guide)

### 2.2.2.1 Diglossia in Telugu

Diglossia is a situation in which 'two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers of a speech community under different conditions' (Ferguson, 1959, p.325). Ferguson used the term diglossia to mean the existence of high (H) and low (L) varieties of languages for different functions, prestige, literacy heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology. Eckert (1980, p.1054) calls it the 'linguistic division of labour', where each language is limited to its specific domain. Some examples of diglossia are Spanish (H) and Guarani (L) in Paraguay (Rubin, 1962; 1968), spoken Tamil and literary Tamil in South India (Schiffman, 1978) and Classical Arabic and regional dialects of Arabic (Ferguson, 1959). Krishnamurti (1972; 1978; 1979) researched extensively on the subject of diglossia in Telugu and came to the conclusion that Telugu could have gone the Tamil route of diglossia if not for the socio-political and

historical events that took place in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, this diglossia was restricted to the written and spoken genres only, but not in terms of high-spoken Telugu and low-spoken Telugu. Although some researchers tried to argue that there were caste-based differences such as Brahmins speaking higher forms of Sanskritic Telugu and the lower castes speaking the Dravidian form of Telugu, these differences were never proven to be significant enough to be viewed as diglossia (Krishnamurti, 1999).

There are (but more correctly, used to be) two kinds of Telugu: grāndhikam (book language or literary Telugu) and vyāvahārikam (spoken language). Supporters of the former style of Telugu were known as the classicists. This style of Telugu was mainly in the *padayam* (poetry) style, and down the ages when prose (*gadyam*) was used it was still written in verse (Velcheru, 1995). It should be noted that the real spoken language was seldom used in literary works apart from a few exceptions, such as in the works of the 15<sup>th</sup> century poet/maestro Annamayya, the 17<sup>th</sup> century maestro Tyagaraja and the folk poet Vemana. The majority of literature was written in poetry or ornate prose following strictly set metres known as *chandassu*.

De Silva (1976; 1986) categorised diglossia of Telugu as *unstable* as opposed to diglossia of Tamil, which is *stable*. According to De Silva (ibid.), Telugu was never in a stable diglossic situation because of the divide that existed between the scholars and the common people. The diglossic situation ('purism') was brought to an end by 'forceful intellectual campaigns for modernising the standard usage' (De Silva, 1986, p.30). The Telugu Language Committee Report of 1973, submitted to Andhra University, strongly recommended literary Telugu to be discontinued as a medium of teaching. The main reason for this was 'the absence of any substantial prestige associated with the literary language and the difficulties in the teaching and the learning of an extra grammatical complex for a restricted purpose' (De Silva, 1976, p. 5). This way, first there was the opposition to the purists' argument for preservation of the literary Telugu; second, there was overwhelming support for the movements for reformation; and third, there were official recommendations for teaching the spoken version of Telugu in schools and using the same in the media. All of these movements and ideologies suggest a certain willingness to adopt modern and simple means of communication. They also seem to suggest that the Telugu language and Telugus in general were open to adopting new linguistic ideologies. However, upon closer critical examination, another question arises from this conflict. Though some individuals took it upon themselves to change the course of Telugu from *grandhika* to *vaduka*, how much of this was driven by the Telugu people as a mass movement is still questionable. The only linguistic movement that saw mass

participation was for the creation of a separate state on a linguistic basis (see Section 2.3); all others had only political or ideological motivations.

#### 2.2.2.2 *Varieties or Dialects of Telugu*

Krishnamurti (1978) identified four varieties of Telugu, which were distinguished according to the broad geographic variation. As with any language with a large number of speakers, there are subtle variations of Telugu in a micro-geographic expanse as well.

- a) *uttara mandalam*, northern variety – spoken in all districts of the Telangana state. The influence of Marathi in the northwest, Kannada in the west and Urdu (which was the official language during the Nizam rule well into the 1950s) can be found in this variety. This variety is simply known as Telangana.
- b) *dakshina mandalam*, southern variety – spoken in the four districts of Rayalseema (Kurnool, Anantapur, Kadapa and Chittoor) and two southern coastal districts (Prakasan and Potti Sriramulu Nellore). The influence of Kannada in the west and Tamil in the south can be heard in this variety.
- c) *pūrva mandalam*, eastern variety – spoken in the three northeastern coastal districts (Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram and Vishakapatnam). In the northeastern-most regions, the influence of Oriya on Telugu can be heard.
- d) *madhya mandalam*, central variety – spoken in the four mid-coastal districts (East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur).

Some linguists consider the speech of the educated Telugus (who speak the central variety) to be the standard Telugu. As noted earlier in this chapter, even those who were in favour of the spoken language (*vyavahārika bhāṣa*) for teaching wanted the educated speech of the central districts to be considered the standard, which they called *śistavyavahārikam* (*śista* in Sanskrit means loosely ‘that which is standard or prescribed’). The present-day ‘standard Telugu is based on the speech and writings of the Central coastal Andhra urban educated middle class dialect’ (Reddy, 2000, p.199). Arden (1905, p.vi), in his work on Telugu grammar, a book meant for the British officials, called the central variety ‘the purest and most largely used’ and considered it the standard for learning Telugu.

However, the concept of purity of language is a controversial one. In recent years, there have been attempts to highlight the aesthetics of other dialects, especially Telangana (northern). Nalimela Bhaskar (2003, p.ii), a Telangana writer, consolidated the Telangana lexicon into a book. In the introduction, he narrates a conversation with his relative who ridicules him for speaking the central variety – ‘*nuvvu androniva? Atla mātlādutunnav?*

(Are you an Andhra fellow? (Why) You are talking like that?). According to Bhaskar, he grew up reading books written in a language (here it means a language variety or dialect) that was not his because all the books were written in coastal Andhra Telugu. This shows how important even the difference in dialect is for identity.

According to Krishnamurti (1978, p.42) the process of standardisation of Telugu was 'slow and diffuse'. By that, he means, unlike London-based standard English and Paris-based standard French, which emerged from the centres of socio-cultural and political power, standard Telugu achieved its status through popular creative writing and mass media. However, it must be noted that the standard Telugu used in the media (newspaper, TV, radio, etc.) is different from the Telugu spoken anywhere else. In the past, it was common practice to stratify spoken Telugu on the basis of caste; that is, researchers claimed that the upper castes spoke standard Telugu, while the lower castes spoke the non-standard varieties (also known as *vikrti* or *grāmyam*). However, caste may not be a speech stratum (Pandit, 1972) but education is (Krishnamurti, 1972). The educatedness of a speaker determines the extensiveness of the phonological use. Uneducated speakers may not realise the phonemes (especially the aspirated voiced plosives) introduced into Telugu from Sanskrit (ibid.). There is not enough research on Telugu (phonetic, lexical and syntactic) based on individuals' social network to conclusively state that one factor is more responsible than the other in speech variation.

## 2.3 Language and Politics

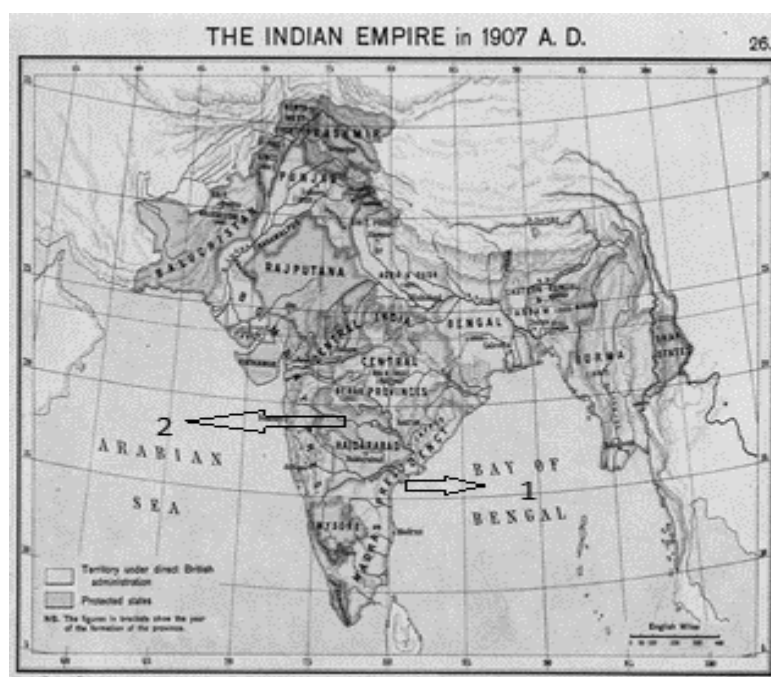


Fig 2.5: (1) Madras presidency and (2) Hyderabad state during British rule

It is important to note that the borders of the Telugu region have been redrawn several times since India became an independent country. In the past, the Telugu-speaking regions of the present-day Andhra Pradesh (Coastal Andhra and Rayalseema) were under the Madras Presidency, which was governed directly by the British. Telangana was with the Hyderabad state, which was a princely state under the Nizam rule (Figure 2.5). Due to the incessant demands of the people in the Telugu region, the Andhra state was formed in 1953 by separating the coastal Andhra and Rayalseema regions from the Madras state. One of the most notable leaders in this demand for separation was Potti Sreeramulu (1901–1952) who fasted to death in his demand for a separate Telugu state. At this point in time, the Telugu-speaking region of Hyderabad, now known as Telangana, remained separate from the Andhra state. Later, on 1 November 1956, all of the Telugu-speaking regions of Hyderabad were merged with the Andhra state, which led to the formation of the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh (EWAP). This led the way to the formation of states on a linguistic basis. Other such states are Tamil Nadu (for the Tamil speakers), Kerala (Malayalam), Karnataka (Kannada), Maharashtra (Marathi), etc. (cf. *The Economist*, 2014, report video on linguistic division of India). It would be incorrect to say that all 29 states in India were formed on a linguistic basis. Some states, such as the northeastern states, were formed on an ethnic basis (Amritavalli and Jayaseelan, 2007).

Evidently, the unifying factor attributed to a common language has only lasted for approximately 58 years, with Telangana separating from the EWAP and forming a new state in 2014. The main reason for separation was neither cultural or linguistic but socio-economic development. Telangana has been an underdeveloped region compared to coastal Andhra (Forrester, 1970; Haragopal, 2010), with the exception of Hyderabad. Some also say that there are quite striking linguistic differences (Rao, 2014), especially in phonology and lexicon, due to the influence of Urdu, which was the language of education prior to merging (Krishnamurti, 1978). But no one involved in the struggle used the linguistic and cultural differences as a primary reason for the demand for separation. A full historical report on the Telangana movement, which took place over five decades, is out of the scope of this research project. However, it is important to note that the linguistic identity was a driving factor behind the creation of the erstwhile state.

### **2.3.1 The Emergence of Telugu Nationalism**

In 1983, a new political party by the name Telugu Desam (Land of the Telugus) came to the forefront of Andhra Politics. Until then, the Congress Party, led by Mrs Indira Gandhi, ruled over Andhra Pradesh for 30 years. This new party was established by N.T. Rama Rao (NTR), a popular film actor. The motive of the party was to end the monopoly of Congress in the state, which it did in the 1983 elections. The main slogan of this political

movement was *Telugu vari atma gauravam* – ‘self-respect of the Telugu people’. Until then, the politicians in the EWAP Congress Party were claimed to be at the beck and call of the high command in Delhi (Kohli, 1988). They were appointed and removed by the high command in the centre, regardless of the electoral verdicts (Kohli, 1988). Until then, there was no strong regional party in the EWAP that could stand against the national party, Congress. In the neighbouring state of Tamil Nadu, regional identity was always kept at the forefront and this was usually controlled by the Dravidian parties such as the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK). For this reason, the national parties have not been able to establish their presence significantly in Tamil Nadu, even to this day. There was a general feeling that the Telugu people were taken for granted by the government at the centre (ibid.). The failure of the centre to satisfy the demands of the Andhra and Telangana people, the imposition of emergency for the first and only time in India in 1975 by the then prime minister Indira Gandhi and anti-incumbency helped the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) secure a huge majority (ibid.). This was a momentous occasion for Telugu-identity politics as a new political era began in the EWAP.

Since then, this party has emerged as a major player in both state and national politics. It is currently the ruling party in the new Andhra Pradesh state. It was during the Telugu Desam rule that non-resident Indians (NRIs) started to become involved in state affairs. Both NTR and the subsequent chief minister of the party, Chandra Babu, invited the NRI community to invest in the state’s development projects. Subsequently, even the Indian government recognised the need to liaise with Indians settled abroad for the development of the country and, in 2002, announced 9 January<sup>4</sup> as *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* (Non-resident Indian Day).

Some older Telugu people I met in the UK acknowledge that, with the advent of the TDP, a new Telugu identity emerged; until then, Telugus were not well known as a separate language group in India. They were known only as south Indians or *Madrasis* (a pejorative term for someone from the south). They said that, until the TDP came to power, they had not known that they could still maintain a strong bond with the source state. Some Telugu NRIs (mainly from the US) have invested in Andhra Pradesh heavily. The International School of Business (ISB) and the CARE Super Specialty Hospital in Hyderabad are just two examples. Some Telugu community members living abroad, especially those who are influential in the diaspora cultural associations, maintain strong links with the state’s political parties. There was overwhelming support and dissent from the diaspora Telugus before the separation of Telangana from the EWAP. My field trips have also seen

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<sup>4</sup> This was the day that Mahatma Gandhi returned to India permanently from South Africa in 1915.

meetings arranged, political delegates invited and funds collected for the various causes of this separation movement. It is important to bear in mind that the regional sentiments are quite strong and, as stated above, they do not spring from linguistic differences as much as from the socio-politico-economic ideologies.

## 2.4 Symbols of Telugu Culture

The Telugu cultural associations in Britain and elsewhere celebrate the facets of Telugu culture on occasions such as festivals and cultural events organised to bring the people together. In this section, some of the important aspects observed in London have been described as symbols of Telugu culture. There are many symbols such as the classical music and dance, folk art forms, food, festivals, etc. that can be categorised as pan-Indian, or more specifically, pan-south Indian. Of these, some can be categorised as belonging uniquely to certain cultures; if not in essence, at least in the manner in which they are observed.

### 2.4.1 Festivals

The Dasara (or Dussehra) festival, which is a ten-day celebration of the goddess Durga's victory over evil, is observed differently by diverse populations. In the Telangana region, *Bathukamma panduga* is celebrated during Dasara. It is a floral festival that is very important for women. It is one of the unique identity factors of the Telugu (Telangana) diaspora (see Appendix 5). It is important to note here that the identity factor of Bathukamma is so strongly Telangana that the TLN government has been known to fund the celebrations abroad after the formation of the new state.

*ugādi* is the Telugu New Year, which is unique to Telugus and Kannadigas. It falls usually in March or April, on the first day of Chaitra (the first month, according to the Hindu lunar calendar). It is a very auspicious day for most Telugu people. Activities of celebration include *panchāṅga śravaṇam* (recitation of the almanac) and eating *ugādi pacchadi*.<sup>5</sup> This is considered to be a unique Telugu festival and is celebrated as such in both India as well as the diaspora.

The other important festivals are *Makara Sankranti* (the harvest festival), *Deepavali* (more popularly known as *Diwali*) and *Vinayaka chaviti* (Ganesh festival). *Sankranti* is the only major festival that is celebrated according to a solar calendar, which means that the date of the festival is fixed (14 January, or 15 January if the previous year was a leap year). All of the other major festivals are as per the Hindu calendar, which is based on the positions of the moon. This practice is continued even in the diaspora. Some households keep a

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<sup>5</sup> A mixture made of neem flowers, jaggery, green chilli, salt, tamarind juice and unripe mango. Each of these items has a distinct taste, namely, bitter, sweet, hot, salty, sour and tangy, symbolising the various experiences of life such as sorrow, happiness, anger, fear, disgust and surprise, respectively.

Telugu calendar or almanac (*panchangam*) at home and nowadays most of the information is accessible online. However, the celebratory cultural events are conducted at the weekends for the sake of convenience.

### **2.4.2 Dance and Music**

A quick glance through some of the Telugu cultural websites projects a few symbols as being unique to the Telugus. Most of these websites celebrate the contribution of the Telugus to Indian culture. Carnatic classical music is resplendent with the Telugu compositions learnt by all students of the genre regardless of their language. The most notable Telugu maestros are Tyāgaraja (1767–1847 CE), Annamāchārya (1408–1503 CE) and Bhakta Ramadas (1620–1680 CE), who belonged to the Bhakti religious tradition. It must be noted, however, that most of the well-known *vāggeyakārās* (usually translated as maestros) came from the upper castes, especially Brahmin (Benary, 1972). *Kūcipūdi* is a classical art that incorporates both dance and drama. This is unique to the Telugus because it originated in Andhra Pradesh (Banham, 1995; Devi, 2002). Burrakatha, a story-telling art form, is indigenous to Andhra Pradesh (Banham, 1995). Other dance and music forms such as Harikatha and Yakshagana have a shared Indian identity. It is not uncommon to see the Telugu cultural associations inviting renowned artists from India to perform these art forms. More than that, it is common to see a general interest among parents to teach their children some of the classical arts, of which music and dance are at the forefront.

### **2.4.3 The Telugu Media**

#### **2.4.3.1 Print**

The discussion in this section illustrates the popularity of reading news in Telugu in the regions where it is the dominant language. Newspapers printed in English play an integral part in the state's circulation and this gives a picture of the functional load English has in this region. Firstly, this region (AP and TLN) has the second largest number of publications in India, according to the Registrar of Indian Newspapers (RNI, 2014). It is also the region with the third largest number of publications in the English language (ibid., p.248). Furthermore, the most interesting aspect is that the largest circulation of any one newspaper in the Andhra Pradesh and Telangana regions is that of an English daily, the Deccan Chronicle. However, this does not mean that the people in this region read English newspapers more than Telugu newspapers. Despite being the third most spoken language in India, Telugu does not seem to maintain the same position in terms of the number of people who read Telugu papers. It is interesting to note that the most read Telugu newspaper is not among the ten most read dailies in India (HansaResearch, 2012).



#### 2.4.3.2 Films

Films occupy a very important role in the lives of most Telugus. The Telugu film industry is the second largest in India and is nicknamed *Tollywood*. It once had Madras (now Chennai) as its centre, which later shifted to Hyderabad. Numerous Telugu cultural websites are dominated by news about film stars and new releases. Films are also among the most discussed topics on social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter where Telugu people participate.

To give an idea of how popular the film industry in the Telugu region is, some vital statistics are presented below:

1. With 2,809 screens, the EWAP has the largest number of single screens in India. Tamil Nadu is in second place with 1,546 screens (FFI, 2010).
2. The Telugu film industry has produced more films than any other language, with approximately 18% of the total films certified by the Central Board of Film Certification from 2005 to 2014 (FFI, 2014). This exceeds the number of films produced by Bollywood.
3. The largest film studio complex in the world, Ramoji Film City, is in Hyderabad (*Guinness Book of World Records*, 2005).
4. Telugu films also have other individual credits such as most film credits for an actor, most playback songs for a singer, most films produced by an individual, etc.

It is no surprise that the film genre is very dear to a large section of the Telugu population. There is also a substantial market for English language films dubbed into Telugu. The FICCI and KPMG report on Indian media (2013, p.11) observes that 'Hollywood films are expanding their revenue potential by dubbing across regional languages such as Tamil and Telugu'. Hollywood films have their lion's share (35%) in the south Indian markets.

The Telugu community living outside India displays a similar fondness for films and film stars as in India. Many of the Telugu community events are dominated by cultural programmes, which are film based, such as songs and dances based on film music. Very often, celebrities from the film industry are invited as chief guests to major events; for example, Chiranjeevi (one of the most successful veteran actors) attended the World Telugu Conference in London in 2012. In 2014, an event organised around the Telugu language and culture in London had popular Telugu lyricists as chief guests, among others. From my interactions with the organisers, I understand that these stars (celebrities) act as 'crowd pullers', especially to events that are not based on popular

entertainment. I have personally seen and met several film personalities at such events in London, which would have been very difficult in India. The privilege that Telugu people living abroad enjoy is that they can meet and interact with their favourite stars in person, without getting lost in the crowd, as might happen in India. Another important aspect, which is discussed in the analysis section, is the interest of the Telugu community in producing London/UK-based Telugu films.

#### 2.4.3.3 Television

Regional channels account for approximately 26.6% of the total television viewership in India (FICCI and KPMG, 2013). The Tamil and Telugu markets account for approximately 50% (27% and 23%, respectively) of the total regional viewership. The Hindi language viewership is the largest share with 50%, English and Tamil occupy second place with 10% each and Telugu has the third largest share with an 8% viewership. The most popular channels in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana are Telugu entertainment channels: Gemini, ETV, MAA TV and ZEE Telugu; the most popular news channels are, again, Telugu language channels: TV9 in Andhra Pradesh and T News in Telangana.

#### 2.4.4 Food/Cuisine

Telugu cuisine has a reputation for its taste and is known in other parts of India through the labels ‘Andhra meals’, ‘Andhra mess’, etc. Some regions of Andhra Pradesh have greater reputations for their cuisine than the others such as Nellore Mess, Guntur Mess etc.

Rice is the staple food of most Indians and exclusively so for Telugus. Telugu cuisine is unique in its own right, with a few trademark dishes. Gongura (*Hibiscus Cannabinus*) leaves are used to make *pacchadi* (chutney), *pappu* (dal) and mutton (lamb) dishes. *Avakaya* (hot pickled mango) is prepared in most Telugu households during the summer when raw mangoes are available, preserved to last for a year at least, and eaten with rice and curd or buttermilk.<sup>6</sup> Fish is a very popular source of food for many Indians and Telugus take pride in their *cēpala pulusu* (fish curry), *royyala iguru* or *vēpudu* (prawn fry), *pītala pulusu* (crab curry), etc. Due to the influence of Middle Eastern cuisine, many Persian and Arabic dishes made their way into Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, such as Hyderabad Biryani. Consumption of pork and beef is negligible, if not totally absent, for religious and caste reasons.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Gongura and avakaya are so Telugu in identity that they can be compared to fish and chips for the English or Haggis for the Scottish.

<sup>7</sup> Some people (mostly non-Muslims) do consume pork, but the larger Hindu upper-class society avoids it. Chandrabhan Prasad, a Dalit columnist, argues that eating pork has nothing to do with religion but with caste because, traditionally, the lower caste poor and *adi vasis* (tribals) ate pork because they could easily hunt boars or pigs. This has led to the stereotype of pork being a lower-caste food (Dhillon, 2014). Consumption of

During my trips to London to meet the participants, I observed that almost all of them (including the second generation) are fond of Telugu food items. They maintain that the traditional food is an integral part of their day-to-day lives. In fact, they do not find it a challenge at all to procure ingredients for their traditional cooking because of the many Indian grocery outlets not far from their neighbourhoods.

#### 2.4.5 Other Important Symbols of Telugu Culture

(Images of Telugu symbols are provided in Appendix 1.)

- Telugu Talli – literally, mother Telugu. The anthropomorphic depiction of the Telugu language is shown holding the *Pūrṇa Kumbham* in the right hand and paddy crops in the left, symbolising prosperity and abundance.
- *Pūrṇa Kumbham* or Kalasam (an ornate vessel/chalice) is the state symbol of Andhra Pradesh.
- Telangana Talli – she holds the Bathukamma (flowers) in one hand and corn crops in the other. This is an important imagery in the wake of the Telangana movement.
- The Buddha Statue of Hyderabad is the world's tallest monolith of Buddha. It has become one of the most recognised landmarks of Hyderabad since its installation in 1992. It is a symbol of peace and the influence of Buddhism in ancient Andhra Pradesh.
- Charminar is the iconic symbol of Hyderabad. It is over 400 years old and is considered the heart of the city. Located in the Muslim majority region of Hyderabad, it is representative of peaceful coexistence. Unfortunately, in recent years, it has become a target for controversies, with both Hindus and Muslims claiming rights over its location.<sup>8</sup>
- Medak Cathedral is the second largest diocese in the world after the Vatican.
- Balaji Temple in Tirupati is the most visited place of worship in the world. It is also the second richest religious entity.
- *Kākatīya Tōraṇam* in Warangal is an arch and a symbol of the Kākatīya Dynasty, which ruled the region from 1083 CE to 1323 CE. It is now incorporated into the symbol of the Telangana state.

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beef is a taboo because the cow is considered the most sacred animal for Hindus. In Andhra Pradesh, certain relaxations are made whereby a 'fit for slaughter certificate' can be given to slaughter a bull when the animal is not economically viable, but killing a cow is strictly prohibited (APPCS&AP Act, 1977).

<sup>8</sup> This is known as the Bhagya Lakshmi temple controversy, which was reignited in 2012. This temple is in the premises of Charminar. Hindus claim that the structure was built by demolishing the temple which was originally there and the Muslims disagree with that claim.

- *Mā Telugu Talliki* is the state song of Andhra Pradesh. Written by Sri Sankarambadi Sundarachari, it praises the Telugu land for its prosperity and the great people who contributed to its development. It is customary to play or perform this song on the state formation day (1 Nov).

#### 2.4.5.1 C P Brown

In an article published in the *Hindu* daily newspaper, dated 15 November 1998, Rama Chandra Rao, a historian, observes that the 18<sup>th</sup> century was devoid of any creativity in Telugu literature and language. In earlier periods, literature enjoyed the patronage of kings such as Sri Krishna Deva Raya and others, because of which the best works known today were produced. Subsequent to the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire, the patronage that literature enjoyed was lost, too.

According to Rao (The Hindu, 1998), a civil servant with the British East India Company, Charles Philip Brown (1798–1884) ‘became the “Telugu Sun,” to dispel the darkness that had enveloped the language and literature and awaken Telugus to their rich literary heritage’ (ibid.). Brown contributed immensely to the preservation of literature and documentation of the spoken language. He published a large volume of works, some himself and some with the help of native scholars, whom he patronised throughout his stay in India. His biggest contribution was perhaps the Telugu – English dictionary (Brown, 1852), which is popularly known in Telugu as the *Brownya Nighantuvu*, in which he documented colloquial usages in Telugu. It is said that he dedicated a large part of his life to the Telugu language both in India and later in England. Many Telugu scholars acknowledge that his contributions to the language were invaluable and call him *andhrabhashodharaka* (saviour of Telugu).

A section on Charles Philip Brown is appropriate in this chapter because of his service to the Telugu language. Perhaps no other westerner has contributed so much to Telugu as did Brown. He is highly respected and talked about as a prominent figure in the history of modern Telugu. Apart from giving new life to forgotten or neglected works of Telugu, he also played an active role in the simplification of the Telugu script. It is interesting to note that the gravestone of Brown, which is in Kensal Green cemetery in London, is visited regularly by Telugus, especially politicians or literary scholars who visit the country. One of the Telugu associations renovated the gravestone in 2006. They also started a C P Brown foundation in the UK, the main aim of which is to ‘preserve, promote and propagate Telugu language and literature’.

#### 2.4.6 The Telugu Dream

One can argue that going abroad, especially to developed countries such as the US, the UK and Australia, is a *Telugu dream* (Bhaskar and Bhatt, 2007). Many films from the

1980s, 1990s and 2000s encapsulate the stories of the non-resident Andhras (*pravāsāṃdrulu*) about their ways of life and their closeness to Telugu cultural values. It must, however, be noted that most of the representation of Telugus abroad has been from the background of immigration to America rather than to other developed countries. Cherukuri and Muppidi (2003) claim that approximately 67.5% of all Asian American professionals in the US are from Hyderabad. Hyderabad here could also mean erstwhile Andhra Pradesh in general. It is common practice in India to state the name of the capital or a large city as the place of origin, even if the person comes from somewhere else. It is no exaggeration to state that moving abroad is absolutely important for many technically educated Andhras. The fact that there is a temple near Hyderabad, called the Visa Bālāji Temple, is a standing testimony to the desire to immigrate, at least for some people.

Chilkūr Bālāji Temple or, more popularly, Visa Balaji Temple is located in Chilukur village to the west of Hyderabad. It is an ancient Hindu temple of Balaji (another name for Vishnu in the holy trinity of the Hindu religion). The temple attracts millions of devotees every year. When devotees experience the desire to be fulfilled, they first circumambulate the inner shrine 11 times; when that desire is fulfilled they come back to complete the sacred vow by circumambulating 108 times. A large number of devotees visit the temple for visa and foreign-travel-related wishes, hence the name 'Visa Balaji'. With this understanding, that moving abroad (for study, work or settlement) has become an identity aspect for at least some sections of the Telugu community, we will now examine the characteristics of the Telugu diaspora.

## **2.5 The Diaspora**

### **2.5.1 A Brief Note on the Indian Diaspora in General**

According to Oonk (2007, pp.10–12), migration of Indians can be categorised into four groups. First and foremost, trade was a compelling reason for migration, even before the colonisation of India. This was called the *trade diaspora* and continues even now. The key characteristic of this migration is that it is *temporary* or *circular*.

The second kind of migration was that of the indentured labourers who were sent to work on the plantations owned by the colonies, to make up for the loss of manpower due to the abolition of slavery. Much of this migration was said to be forced and may not have been voluntary. However, not all migrated as manual workers. There were also those Indians who moved as a result of a collaborative colonial expansion system and took up clerical and teaching jobs. This group of migrants had fewer opportunities to return to their home country compared to the trade diaspora. Like the trade diaspora, the main motivation for this group was also economically orientated.

The third group was the post-Indian independence migration. The largest exodus was that of the Muslims from the Indian region migrating to East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and West Pakistan and the settlement of Hindus from those regions in India for religious and political reasons. The other group of migrants were the highly educated Indians who moved to developed countries to take up professional jobs: in the early times as doctors and engineers, in the latter times as software and IT professionals. This group was different from the manual labour group because their migration was purely voluntary (within the constraints of immigration policies, of course) and they may or may not have returned to their homeland.

The fourth group was what is called the *twice migrants*. These were the Indians who migrated to Europe (mainly the UK) and Canada from East Africa primarily for political reasons. Professionally, this group was said to be more diverse, comprising tradesman, labourers and professionals. The primary motivation behind all four categories of immigration was mainly economic betterment, although the Hindus and Muslims displaced from India and Pakistan could be said to be an exception. In the case of the fourth group (migration from East Africa), it may seem that there were political forces that caused them to move. However, most of this group chose to move to developed countries rather than going back to the country of their ancestral origin, for example, migrants of Indian origin to the UK from East Africa.

### 2.5.2 Telugu Diaspora

There is a large Telugu diaspora with important communities as far afield as Bahrain, Fiji, Malaysia, Mauritius, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates, and the USA

(Viv Edwards, cited in BBC Voices, 2014).

Members of the Indian diaspora are called *Pravās Bharatīya*, which means non-resident Indians or, more popularly, NRIs. The Telugus settled abroad are called *Pravāsāndhrulu*. We have seen in Section 2.4.6 that the Telugu community in India is known for its desire to migrate to western countries, especially to the US. Bhat and Bhaskar (2007) call this the *Telugu dream*. The reasons for immigration are several: education, money, highly skilled employment, better quality of life, etc.

The migration of Telugus outside India can be divided into old and new diasporas. During the colonial times, most Telugus who migrated did so under the system of *kangani*<sup>9</sup> and

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<sup>9</sup> A kangani is a middleman who hires labourers (usually kith and kin) contracted to work on plantations abroad and with an option to return. Indentured labourers, on the other hand, are contracted to work in far-off

sometimes as indentured labourers to plantations in other colonies such as Burma, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Mauritius, South Africa, the Caribbean Islands, etc. (Bhaskar and Bhat, 2003; 2007). This is known as the old diaspora. Most of the old diaspora settlers had little or no personal relations with the mainland owing to long years of separation (the exception was when they found spouses from the mainland). Moreover, given the times, travelling or telecommunication were not as accessible as they are today. Language shift studies in the South African Telugu community belonging to this old diaspora show a rapid shift to the dominant language (Prabhakaran, 1991; 1997; 1998; Mesthrie, 1992).

The new diaspora of Indians are those who emigrated after India attained independence. The general view is that the new diaspora emigrants were more educated (possibly English educated) and migrated for highly skilled jobs mainly to developed countries in Europe, America and Australia (Sridhar, 1988; Bhaskar and Bhatt 2003; 2007). Immigration into England (or the UK) was not restricted to one particular language community, but Punjabis and Gujaratis<sup>10</sup> were some of the first to arrive mainly in the 1960s through to the 1970s (Burholt, 2004).

Bhaskar and Bhat (2007, p.93) divide Telugu emigration into three phases:

- 1) Emigration to the colonies as indentured labour – prior to 1947 (the old diaspora)
- 2) Emigration of professionals such as doctors, engineers, scientists and students to the developed countries such as the US, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand – the 1950s to the late 1990s
- 3) Emigration of software professionals to Europe and especially the US – the late 1990s to now

What should also be mentioned here is that the immigration of not so highly skilled (or manual) workers to the Gulf and Middle Eastern countries was also a post-independence phenomenon. Here, however, there is only primary immigration, i.e. secondary immigration (family reunion) is not allowed (Cherukuri and Muppidi, 2003).

#### *2.5.2.1 The New Diaspora in the UK*

The post-World War II western countries made rapid progress in almost every walk of life. They required skilled labour to keep pace with development. The colonies of the past, where English language and modern technical education made successful in-roads, were able to meet this demand through migration. Post-war Indian immigration to the UK mainly included manual workers from the sub-continent. Most came from the Punjab region,

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places and with little or no chance to return. Bhat and Bhaskar (2001) observed that the indentured workforce was mainly from the northern regions of India and the kangani were from the south.

<sup>10</sup> The bulk of Gujaratis who arrived in Britain seeking refuge came from East Africa, during Idi Amin's rule, as a result of his ultimatum in 1972. It was estimated that a little over 25,000 Asians came to Britain in that year.

taking up work in the construction of infrastructure such as railways, Heathrow airport, etc. (Brah, 2005). In the 1950s and 1960s, there was also a demand for doctors in the NHS and some Indians, having the advantage of being educated in the British-established medical institutions, migrated as medical professionals. This excerpt from the Museum of London archive states the need for medical professionals from abroad:

‘Additional numbers of doctors arrived from the subcontinent from the 1950s onwards to staff the newly established National Health Service’

Migration Histories, Museum of London online archive (Lahiri, 2014).

Subsequent to the Commonwealth Immigration acts of 1962, 1968 and 1972, which imposed greater restrictions on entry into the country, only highly skilled professionals or students could immigrate.

In the UK, Telugu speakers form one of the smaller Indian language communities (Edwards, in BBC Voices, 2014). Some of the first Telugu immigrants to Britain were from the medical professions, and came to Britain in the 1960s through to the 1980s. This group of immigrants is referred to as Wave 1 of the new diaspora in this study.

In the nineteen nineties a new wave (Wave 2) of immigration started as a result of the dotcom boom or the Y2K boom. Wave 2 of the new diaspora consisted mainly of IT professionals (information gathered from interviews), which continues to the present day, though not as much as it was in the late 1990s to the mid 2000s. This is mainly due to the tightening of immigration policy since 2008.<sup>11</sup> The ongoing attempts to reduce immigration in recent times has also led to the cancellation of post-study work visas for most non-EU students. Many of the Telugu participants I met came to this country as students and settled after securing jobs. This was possible mainly because, earlier, they had work permits for up to two years after completing their education. Now, with the change in policy and the tightening of other immigration channels, there is likely to be a slower inflow of Telugus settling in the country. More discussion on the community group strength can be found in Chapter 6.

Not all Telugus who immigrated were highly qualified or educated; some moved as spouses and dependents as well. During the course of fieldwork, it came to my notice that there is a small Telugu community (approximately 80 families) settled in Preston, whose first generation arrived in the UK from Burma (now Myanmar) in the 1950s and 1960s as a result of the Burmese civil war. Interestingly, this group of immigrants, which is now in its third generation, was not highly educated and took up other (blue collar) jobs

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<sup>11</sup> In 2008, the UK border agency shifted from a work permit issuance structure to non EU members to a points-based immigration structure making it difficult even for highly skilled labour to enter the country



(observations from fieldwork), probably because they were the successors of the old Indian diaspora. This group is based in Preston and remains out of the scope of this study because the geographic base is fixed to London. This group falls under the category of *twice migrants*, as described under Indian diaspora, above (Oonk, 2007). Although this group is not included in the current study, due to the uniqueness of the group's migration, the hope is to study it separately in the future. A more detailed discussion of the Preston group and the relevance of London as a site for language maintenance study is presented in the conclusion.

It was mentioned earlier that the Telugu community is numerically smaller compared to the other Indian communities in the UK. Incidentally, Prabhakaran (1998, p.207) employs the term 'sub-minority' to describe the Telugu community in South Africa because, in spite of a long history of settlement, it is still a smaller group compared to the other minority language groups such as the Tamils, Bhojpuris and Gujaratis. On these grounds, the term *sub-minority* is befitting of the Telugu community in the UK too.

According to the main language report published by the Office of National Statistics (Census, 2011), 14,653 people reported Telugu as their main language in England and Wales. However, what is not certain is the definition of 'main language', because people who do not speak Telugu as their main (everyday) language may not report it (this was acknowledged by the ONS). Nevertheless, the existence of numerous Telugu associations in London and elsewhere in the UK means that there is a sizeable community to be studied. Unofficial estimates by members of the community state that there must be between 10,000 and 15,000 Telugus settled in London.

#### 2.5.2.2 Telugu Community in London

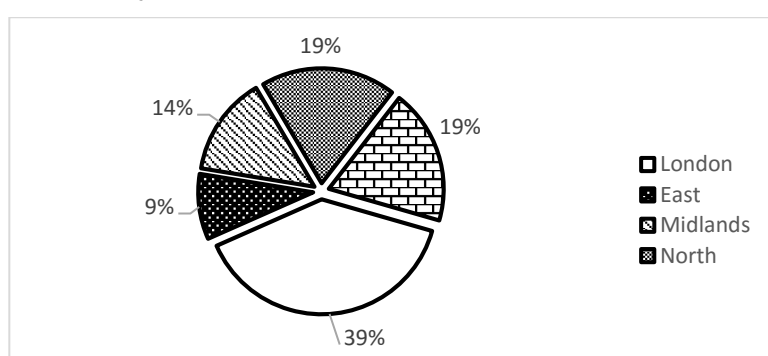


Fig 2.6: Distribution of Telugu speakers in England (source: main language report, UK Census, 2011)

Figure 2.6 above shows the distribution of Telugu speakers in England. This data is taken from the main language report of the UK census of 2011. Of all the regions, London has the highest population of Telugu speakers, with approximately 40%. As per the main language report (ONS Census, 2011), there are 5,568 Telugus in London, most settled in

the boroughs of Hounslow (1,370) and Newham (1,266). During the fieldwork, it was observed (mainly from the accounts of the participants) that, unlike some south-Asian immigrant communities (Bangladeshi, Punjabis, Pakistanis, Gujaratis, etc.) in London, Telugus do not have a clustered geographic settlement. The relatively small size of the community and diverse professional backgrounds needing to work in different parts of the city are often quoted as reasons for this scattered settlement by the participants. Most participants I met work in the medical and software professions. Very few work in customer service and other technical fields.

Telugu community associations play a vital role in promoting the Telugu language and culture among the diaspora members in the US (Bhaskar and Bhat, 2003) and South Africa (Prabhakaran, 1991; Naidoo, 2006). Similarly, even in the UK, many Telugu associations in different parts of the country have been active in celebrating Telugu cultural events and bringing together its members. They arrange events to celebrate Telugu festivals such as Ugadi, Sankranti, Diwali, Dasara, New Years, Christmas (Telugu churches), etc. In this review, Telugu is referred to as a *heritage language* or a *minority language* and English as the *dominant language*. In Chapter 3, an overview of these terms is provided for conceptual clarity.

## **2.6 A Brief Explanation of the Conceptual Framework**

Language maintenance and shift studies on specific immigrant groups usually consider them as homogenous groups regardless of their time of arrival. During the course of the fieldwork, I discovered that the Wave 1 immigrants in 1970s and 1980s had different challenges to maintaining their language and culture than Wave 2. Some of these challenges included dispersed settlements due to employment reasons, expensive air travel to maintain personal contact and unavailability of means for instant communication in the source country. Additionally, the earlier arrivals claim that the new immigrants are more active in the cultural affairs of the community. This means that, based on the time period of arrival in the host country, an immigrant may have different attitudes towards their language and culture. For this reason, in this chapter, the necessity and criteria for dividing the participant group into two waves, Wave 1 and Wave 2, is explained in greater detail.

The characteristics of Wave 1 and Wave 2 are presented below.

### **2.6.1 Wave 1 Telugus**

The population of Wave 1 could be said to be very small. Due to the nature of their work, their opportunities to settle as a cohesive linguistic community were limited. In a focus group with a group of doctors, it was revealed that, as immigrants, they did not find the

atmosphere conducive to choose their preferred location of work. They were expected to move to places where their skills were required. Some had to live in the hospitals in which they were working and attend to calls whenever required. This meant that meeting Telugu people was an occasional family event that they had to plan and sometimes it would take months for such social gatherings to take place. Their ability to stay in touch with extended family in India through travel (air travel was very expensive at that time) or by phone was limited. This was not because there were no phones in their homes, but even a landline was a luxury in India up until the 1990s.

### **2.6.2 Wave 2 Telugus**

This wave of Telugu immigrants is obviously younger, more financially stable and more organised as a community. Their settlement patterns indicate strong preferences to live among other Indians. The current research project agrees with the ONS main language report with respect to most probable areas of settlement (Hounslow and Newham) of Telugus, though it does not agree with the population size. As noted earlier, Wave 2 are also highly skilled professionals, mainly (though not exclusively) involved in information technology. This is not surprising given the record of Telugu emigrants to developed countries to work as software professionals.

One of the reasons for saying that Wave 2 is more organised as a community is because of the increase in the Telugu language/cultural associations in London in the last decade, such as the United Kingdom Telugu Association (UKTA), the Telugu Association of London (TAL), the United Kingdom Telugu Association of Christians (UKTAC), etc. Overall, in the UK, there are over 20 Telugu associations actively engaged in organising cultural, religious and literary events. Some of the events organised frequently by these associations are for festivals such as Sankranti, Ugadi, Deepavali, Christmas, etc. Interestingly, these events are well attended and one can notice active participation from all age groups, especially from children.

It becomes clear that the situations of both waves and the opportunities that they have had are fundamentally different. An aggregate study of the Telugu language maintenance may not give a very clear picture without taking into account these differences. It is also important to note that the children of these waves may also hold differing views towards their heritage language. Figure 2.7 shows the wave and generation division employed in this study.

Old Diaspora	1947-India becomes independent	The New Diaspora - Wave 1		1991 onwards - Economic Liberalisation in India/Y2K Boom/Brain Drain	The New Diaspora - Wave 2	
During the Raj		Migration mainly to developed countries - includes medical and engineering professionals			Migration mainly to developed countries - mainly from the IT background but includes medical and engineering professionals	
Indentured workers to British and French colonies			Wave 1 Second Generation			Wave 2 Second Generation

Fig 2.7: Old/new diaspora and wave/generation division in the study

I had the opportunity to interact with many Telugus during the course of my fieldwork. I also attended up to ten different cultural events in different parts of London and two in other parts of England. On the face of it, the Telugu community seems to be quite active. In this study, I intend to discover how much of this activity and enthusiasm is people driven. Undoubtedly, the cultural associations play a great role in organising events and informing people about them. I witnessed enthusiastic participation from the community members at every event that I attended. However, there could be other factors that cannot be seen on the surface but that determine the attitudes of the Telugu people towards their language. The subsequent chapters will try to uncover the different aspects pertaining to the maintenance of the Telugu language in London.

## 2.7 Summary

On the surface, there appears to be a very strong relationship between the Telugu language and an overall Telugu identity. This is supported by the fact that the Andhras played a very important role in shaping the political map of India. The creation of Andhra Pradesh state in 1956 was the first step towards creating many other states on a linguistic basis. However, economic inequalities and socio-cultural differences between the regions of Telangana and Coastal Andhra (Krishnamurti, 1978) seem to matter more than cohesive survival based on language loyalty. The Telangana state was formed on 2 June 2014 after a 60-year struggle demanding separation from Andhra Pradesh. This is a new development that happened after the start of the current research study and warrants careful examination of the differences between the language attitudes of the participants from both regions without bias.

Mitchell (2009) observes that the linguistic euphoria that led to the formation of a new state in the 1950s has not lasted very long. The affective factors such as language and

culture cannot sustain if there is an impending gloom of socio-economic deprivation. This becomes clear as a result of the renewed Telangana struggle and the achievement of statehood. On close observation of the important movements of the Telugu region, it becomes clear that few saw mass participation from the people. Most of these movements had political motivations and were led by only a few. The linguistic motivation is outweighed by the socio-economic motivation of the peoples of the region.

Stages of education in AP and Telangana are more or less the same as anywhere else in India, with primary, secondary, higher secondary and finally the college/university levels. It was discussed in Section 2.1.4 that the Right to Education Act of 2009 guarantees free and compulsory education to every child between 6 to 14 years of age. The state has made immense progress in the establishment of schools and colleges since 1980<sup>12</sup> (Planning Commission, n.d). In fact, the EWAP has the highest number of secondary and higher secondary schools (25,502) in the country (Mehta, 2013). In spite of this, the state is still in the bottom five performers in terms of literacy. However, this could change in the next census report because this region also achieved a very high enrolment of children into schools in the last decade.<sup>13</sup> (Woodhead et al., 2013). There has been a significant increase in enrolment into private schools than government schools, which Woodhead et al. (2013) view as a positive sign of the improving quality of education.

However, the increase in the number of private schools may also mean an increase in English medium education (*Guardian*, 2012). According the NUEPA report on countrywide school enrolment, English is the most preferred medium of education and has seen a staggering increase of 274% from 2003–04 to 2010–11, which is an increase of 20 million enrolments in eight years (as cited in the *Times of India* and the *Guardian*, 2012). While the demand for English in schools is greater in the southern states, Andhra Pradesh is the front-runner in English medium enrolment. For example, Telugu medium enrolment dropped from 83% in 2003–04 to 78% in 2006. There is no data available on students whose first language is Telugu but who do not opt for this language at school. This data could help to understand the prevailing situation regarding current attitudes towards the mother tongue.

Attitudes expressed in the media about Telugu suggest that there is a sense of fear among some people that Telugu will disappear in the future if the current deterioration continues. In the article 'Telugu Dying a Slow Death', published in the *Times of India* (19 May, 2008), a Telugu writer by name Juluri Gowri Shankar, warns that there is a danger of

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<sup>12</sup> Between 1980 and 2001, the number of high schools increased from 4,106 to 10,359, junior colleges from 398 to 2,449 and degree colleges from 450 to 1157.

<sup>13</sup> Net Enrolment Ratio of 80.2% at primary level in 2009–10 compared to 78.8% in 2007–08.

the language no longer being in use within 50 years. Many government schools that originally offered Telugu medium education now teach in English. In the same article, an academic by name Upendar Reddy opines that, there was more interest among the earlier generations because Telugu was used to read religious texts, novels and children's book and there was a clear need to learn the language. This need is now diminishing with fewer publications in Telugu each year. I once interviewed a prominent government representative (name and position withheld) who worked on the promotion of the Telugu language in October 2014. According to this government representative, the delay in teaching spoken Telugu to commoners (which did not happen until the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century), the Nizam rule in Telangana that imposed Urdu as the first language and the British rule in Andhra that supported English medium education led to the current state of the Telugu language today.

Another important finding is that the openness to learn English has been evident among the Telugus since the 19<sup>th</sup> century British rule (Mitchell, 2009). The Human Development Report (Desai et al., 2010) also shows that the preference for English medium education is greater in Andhra Pradesh than in many other states. Additionally, according to the Indian Census (2001) report, of those who reported Telugu as their mother tongue, the majority reported English as the first subsidiary (second most used) language. Although this may not imply that the Telugus prefer English to their own language, it certainly shows that there is no strong sentiment against learning English because it is considered a language of higher education and opportunity (Amritavalli and Jayaseelan, 2007).

When I asked the Telugus in the UK about their language maintenance, the general sentiment is that the language is not maintained to their satisfaction. For this reason, there is a conscious effort to maintain it through more social networking and cultural events. A very common complaint is that they feel that, in Andhra Pradesh, there is more respect for English than there is in the UK. When I put the same question to some Telugus living in India, they said that maintaining the language is not a concern and that it will be maintained as it is the mother tongue. However, ignoring English may adversely affect their growth prospects (see Section 6.3 for a detailed discussion).

Whatever the reasons and attitudes, it seems that English plays a vital role in the lives of Indians, and Telugus as part of that group are not an exception. What is surprising is that the Telugu region is taking up English as the medium of education more enthusiastically than the rest of India. Whether this really will lead to language endangerment or not warrants further study; however, what is clear is that most Telugus are positive about the role English plays in their lives. This may be a very important factor that helps them with their migration and acculturation into a host society such as the UK.

## Chapter 3: Review of Language Maintenance and Shift

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of a critical review of some of the concepts related to language maintenance and shift study (LMLS) within the field of sociology of language and sociolinguistics. Firstly, *sociology of language* as a field of enquiry is defined, as it is important to distinguish this from the structural study of language common in applied linguistics and, to a large extent, in sociolinguistics. The terms, *heritage language*, *dominant language* and *minority language* are introduced and their conceptual definitions provided because they are used frequently in this study. *Language maintenance and language shift* (LMLS) are explained in greater detail using case studies from different parts of the world. The concept and contexts of *bilingualism* are given special attention in this review because it plays a very important role in LMLS studies. *Habitual language use*, as a framework for analysis, is discussed, with supportive examples from various studies. Social network theory (Milroy, 1987) is also presented in light of the sociolinguistic research, although it is used only loosely as a conceptual framework in the overall study. Understanding *attitudes towards language* is crucial to understanding language maintenance behaviours, which is one of the core questions that this research aims to answer. Chapter 4 deals with the attitudinal aspects such as *status and prestige*, *ethnolinguistic vitality*, *language as a core value of culture* and *language identity*.

Multiple languages coming into contact with each other leads to various language contact situations. Multilingualism or bilingualism, language change, borrowing, code-switching, language shift, etc. are some examples of such language contact. Broadly, there can be two kinds of contact-induced change: structural and extra-structural.

Structural changes such as transference, borrowing, calques, interference, code-switching, etc. are all results of language contact (Edwards, 2012). The process is often gradual and applicable to a larger group or community level (Thomason, 2001). The question of which language exerts more influence on another depends on factors such as the location of contact, control of functions such as economy, education, culture, etc. and population size (Pandharipande, 1992; 2002). For example, English in India is used extensively in education, administration and popular media (Amritavalli and Jayaseelan, 2007); therefore, code-mixing and code-switching between English and other regional languages is very common (Kachru, 1997; Sridhar, 1993).

Extra-structural changes are a result of political, social, cultural, economic and psychological factors (Fishman, 1964). In other words, these changes emerge due to the attitudes of people towards languages, language policies, political movements,

opportunities, etc. The change could be gradual, as in the case of structural changes, or, on some occasions, sudden (see Section 3.6.3 for examples of the Lenca people and Sri Lankan Tamils). Weinreich (1953) states that the extra-structural changes are central to the study of language shift and maintenance.

### **3.1.1 Languages in Contact**

When languages come into contact with each other, either because of geographical contiguity, trade, colonisation or immigration, two kinds of language contact situations are possible: 1) stable and 2) unstable (Thomason, 2001). A stable situation is when the languages can be maintained in their respective functions without the threat of one extirpating the other. In a stable contact situation, the languages have their respective functions in their respective regions; for example, Hindi in the Hindi-speaking states and Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, etc. in their respective linguistic states in India.

An unstable contact situation, on the other hand, is one in which the languages compete for dominance and 'power' (Edwards, 2008, p.4). Bilingualism is a common characteristic of the speakers in unstable contact situations as well; however, it is the speakers of less powerful languages who are required to learn the dominant language of the region. Edwards (2008, p.7) defines bilingualism in unstable situations as a 'way-station' towards monolingualism. In unstable contact situations, the binary oppositions such as dominant and minority languages are evident. The need to shift from one language to another arises in such unstable contact situations wherein one language or a group of languages exert more influence than the other languages of the region (Thomason, 2001).

In an immigrant context, the binary oppositions related to power, geographic dominance and the extent of control are of importance. This is because, as mentioned above, when languages come into contact, various contact-induced changes occur. One such extra-structural change is language shift, which can only happen when the perceived vitality of one language is higher than the other. However, in order to understand how this phenomenon of language shift occurs, it is important to first look at the power play that exists between languages. In the following sections, the definitions of the *heritage*, *dominant* and *minority* languages are provided as a starting point to understand LMLS in greater detail.

### **3.1.2 Dominant Language (DL)**

The term *dominant language* may be viewed from two perspectives: the dominant language of the individual (Valdes, 2005) and the dominant language of the region (Hockett, 1958); in other words, a psycholinguistic perspective and a sociolinguistic perspective. The term is used in the latter sense in this study.



When speakers of two languages live intermingled in a single region, usually one of the languages is that spoken by those in power: this is the upper or dominant language, and the other is the lower (Hockett, 1958, p.405).

One of the early views of dominant language was expressed by Bloomfield (1935), who considered a dominant language to be a variety spoken by the upper class and the privileged. Anyone who did not use the dominant language was ridiculed and forced to learn and borrow from it. Not everyone looked at the dominant language as being class dependent. For example, Paul (1960) explained that the selection of the common language<sup>14</sup> in multilingual situations is done on the basis of predominance on commercial, political, religious or literary grounds. Arguably, according to Paul (1960), this dominance is not artificially created or superimposed. Ferguson (1962) argues for more than just class and power; he attributes language dominance to factors such as numerical superiority and officialisation and standardisation of a language for education, law, government and military communication.

In this study, dominant language is used synonymously with English because it certainly fits the definition. English is the language that has numerical, political and administrative supremacy over any other language in the UK and is certainly the language for wider communication and upward mobility, even among immigrant groups. Additionally, at present, the English language also has greater acceptance as the lingua franca across the world (Jenkins, 2009).

### **3.1.3 Minority Language (ML)**

The UN Commission on Human Rights defines minority as 'the non-dominant groups which have markedly different ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions from the rest of the population and want to preserve them' (EBRD report, p.12). Pandharipande (2002, p.1) defines linguistic minorities as speakers of minority languages: 'Minority languages are typically those which carry relatively less or marginal functional transparency and functional load'. Functional transparency refers to the autonomy and control that the language has in a particular domain. In other words, if it is perceived to be the most appropriate language to carry out that particular function, the language is considered transparent to the function; for example, Sanskrit in the Hindu worship tradition. Functional load is the ability of languages to function successfully in one or more social domains. The load is considered higher or lower based on the number of domains it covers. The higher the number of domains, the higher the load.

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<sup>14</sup> Common language is not to be understood as lingua franca in this context. Though it means the same, here it is about selecting a language or languages from the available pool for most functional needs.

According to Pandharipande (2002), numerical superiority may not always make a language dominant. For example, English is a minority language in India in terms of the number of speakers (approximately 100,000 L1 speakers, according to the 2001 census report) but its functional load and transparency are higher in administration and education, which makes it a dominant language. Another definition of a linguistic minority is 'a category of people who share a language which is not the language of a dominant majority' (LMP, 1983, p.18). Such a language may be confined to specific domains such as home, religion or literature. It may either be excluded or play a limited role in administration and education. It may lack standardisation, the vocabulary may be limited and the language may be at risk of extirpation. The speakers of this language may not have the necessary political influence to support its continuous thriving (Simpson, 1980).

The Basque in Spain, the Welsh in the UK and immigrant communities in English-speaking countries (for example, the US, the UK, Australia) are all minorities compared to the majority speaking a language and exercising some degree of power regionally where the minority languages are spoken (Robinson, 1993). Even among the minority languages, some autochthonous (indigenous) minority languages such as Welsh in the UK have an institutionalised status leading to their maintenance. Other minority languages with high geographical density such as French in Quebec and Bengali/Sylheti in Tower Hamlets have a strong footing in spite of being allochthonous (non-indigenous) languages. This, however, does not mean that all autochthonous minority languages have a better chance of maintenance or survival. As Pandharipande (2002) notes, in India, many tribal communities are losing their languages in spite of their protected status because of a lack of administrative commitment to providing institutional support. In the same way, not all allochthonous languages are a powerless minority; for example, English in the former colonies (Schneider, 2007).

An Indian language such as Telugu may not be under any threat of extirpation given the firm geographical base (AP and TLN), and the number of speakers (over 80 million). However, the same Indian language when put into an immigrant context may be under the threat of their speakers shifting to English, like other migrant languages (Sridhar, 1988; Mesthrie, 1992; Prabhakaran, 1998), because it does not share the features of the stronger minority languages mentioned above. Another important point to consider in defining the status of Telugu in the UK is that it is relatively little known compared to other Indian languages such as Panjabi, Gujarati and, to some extent, Tamil (more discussion about this in Chapter 7). Some researchers (for example, Prabhakaran, 1991; 1997) prefer the term sub-minority because it is a minority among the minority languages that have comparatively greater demographic and institutional strength. However, in this study,

the term *heritage language* is used in reference to Telugu with the implication that it is a minority language.

#### *Heritage language (HL)*

... among the most common terms for the minority language are the following: first language (L1), mother tongue, heritage language, ancestral language, ethnic language ... etc. (Cummins, 1983, p.7).

In English-speaking countries, particularly in the immigrant context, a heritage language is that which is associated with a person's cultural background that is not the same as English (Mu, 2014). Heritage language is often used to mean a minority language that is relatively powerless. In this review, HL is used to represent Telugu, which is an immigrant language and a language of a sub-minority; as the binary opposition to it, DL (dominant language) is used to represent English.

### **3.2 Language Maintenance and Language Shift (LMLS)**

Fishman (1964) defines the premise of language maintenance and shift study as:

... [the] relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other (p.32).

Language shift (LS) is a change from the habitual use of one language to another (Weinreich, 1953), i.e. from the first or the native language (heritage language) to the dominant language. LS needs to be understood both at an individual level as well as the group level (Haugen, 1972; Potowski, 2013). This is because an individual who chooses to speak or not to speak a language also decides whether that language is to be maintained in the family and, by inference, in society at large. It can be a result of not using a language habitually in an individual's lifetime or due to non-transmission to the subsequent generations (Clyne, 2003).

LS can be partial or complete. A partial language shift is when the dominant language replaces the heritage language in one or more domains in which an individual interacts; for example, office, school, neighbourhood, etc. It is said to be complete if the heritage language is replaced by the dominant language at home (Fishman, 1991).

The process of language shift usually is a gradual one. Different linguistic groups have different language shift patterns based on where they are settled. For example, in the case of language shift from Hungarian to German in an Austrian village, Gal (1979) observed a very gradual shift that started mainly with the younger people using German rather than Hungarian (more discussion on this case in Section 3.4). In the case of Norwegian immigrants in America, Haugen (1953) observed that the language shift was complete, i.e. English became the home language within the third generation.

However, the South Asian communities, especially Indian communities settled in western countries, exhibit a different pattern of LS. In the case of Kannadigas in New York, Sridhar (1988) observed that the second generation started to introduce English at home in spite of the parents' preference for Kannada as the home language. Prabhakaran (1991) and Kuncha and Bathula (2004) made similar observations to those of Sridhar (1988) for Telugus in South Africa and New Zealand, respectively. Canagarajah (2008), also, in his mixed method study, noted that the Sri Lankan second generation in the US and the UK show tendencies of LS rather than maintenance. As Pandit (1979, cited in Prabhakaran, 1991) notes, the time taken for a shift to the dominant language among the Indian/South Asian communities is less than the classic three-generation LS pattern described by Haugen (1953).

Clyne (2003, p.25), through the Australian census data, states that the immigrant communities with less 'language distance' (for example, Austrian, Dutch, German, French) are likely to shift to English more rapidly than those communities who have a greater language distance (for example, Turkish, Lebanese, Chinese, etc.). However, there are exceptions such as the Maltese community (culturally more distant to English), who exhibit rapid shift patterns because of the influence of English on Maltese culture and its function as a high language, which was mainly due to colonisation. Therefore, while the cultural similarities play a role in hastening the language shift, pre-immigration experience of competence in English (or any other host DL, for that matter) may also contribute to a rapid language shift.

The cases mentioned above (Kannada speakers in New York by Sridhar (1988) and Telugu speakers in New Zealand by Kuncha and Bathula (2004)) also have a similar background to Maltese in many ways. Having come from India, both groups have a colonial past, English still has high status in India and both groups are bilingual in English and their respective languages before migration. Also, in his study on the Tamils in the US and the UK, Canagarajah (2008) found that the adults who came from Sri Lanka had a more positive view towards English compared to the second generation. Based on these studies, it appears that the Indian or, more generally, South Asian language communities shifted to English more rapidly due to the practices left behind by the colonial experience.

Even though the colonial experience may have left positive impressions of English on the Indian diaspora, the bilingual experience may not always result in language shift. In other words, the tolerance towards pluralistic traditions, cultures and languages is higher in societies such as India. Any efforts of *linguistic organisation*<sup>15</sup> were thwarted in the past

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<sup>15</sup> I define 'linguistic organisation' as efforts to make one language the national or official language at the expense of the others.

due to the rich and different linguistic histories of different language groups. Sridhar (1988; 1993) argued that bilingualism and the experience of language maintenance in spite of bilingualism in India could be an advantage to maintain their languages when Indians migrate to other countries.

However, there is one big difference: maintaining the heritage language in a stable bilingual society such as India is very different from maintaining it in unstable bilingual societies such as the US and the UK. In the former setting, the domains and functions of these languages are well defined and the environment fosters their maintenance (Fishman, 1991; Pandharipande, 2002). This situation is also known as diglossia (Ferguson, 1959). In the English-speaking countries, it would be unviable for most immigrant communities to use their heritage language on a par with English. The following examples provide evidence of this claim.

In his study on Tamil diaspora in three English-speaking countries (the US, Canada and the UK), Canagarajah (2008) observed a rapid shift to English in the second generation. He also observed that some parent generation participants use English at home so that the children can do well at school. According to Canagarajah (2008, p.164), the 'utilitarian' or instrumental motivation (Gardner and Lambert, 1972) to learn English as a means of survival could be causing the shift. Fernandez and Clyne (2007) concur with this conclusion, but they also made slightly different observations regarding the Tamil community in Australia. They observed that the Sri Lankan families exhibit stronger language maintenance than Indian Tamil families due to the linguistic persecution at the source for the former group. Additionally, Hindu families (from both nations) have better maintenance than Christian families. One of the reasons for this could be the 'perceived cultural distance' (Fernandez and Clyne, 2007, p.185), meaning the religious dissimilarities between the Tamil Hindu group and the host. Prabhakaran (1991, p.367) made similar observations about the 'Andhras' (Telugus) in South Africa. Even though language shift is blatant in the community, resistance to change in the 'religio-cultural' domains could be seen as efforts towards language maintenance.

It should be noted that, in spite of certain efforts that seem to support maintenance, these Indian communities are leaning more towards shift than maintenance. By the second generation, the immigrants are absorbed into the dominant host culture, resulting in a language and culture shift (Pandit, 1972, p.89, cited in Prabhakaran, 1991). Among the Indian language communities, LS is emerging as a major contributing factor due to the need to progress socio-economically (Sridhar, 1988; Prabhakaran, 1991; Fernandez and Clyne, 2007; Canagarajah, 2008).

### 3.2.1 Language Maintenance (LM)

Edwards (1997, p.34) asked very pertinent questions in order to define language maintenance.

Must it (language maintenance) always imply vernacular oral maintenance? Could a language preserved in written form, but spoken by few (or none) on a regular basis, be considered 'maintained'?

Answering this rhetoric, he stated that language maintenance actually implies *speaking* the language, especially in the home domain, and passing it on from one generation to another. It means that a language that only exists orthographically may be considered preserved but not maintained. For Pandharipande (2002), however, a language is maintained when it is used for various functions in everyday life and these functions do not only mean spoken but written as well. This implies that languages such as Sanskrit and Latin, which are not extensively spoken as they used to be, are still maintained, not just orthographically but also for strictly defined ecclesiastic and vedic functions. To Fishman (1991; 2001), there is no domain more important for a language to be maintained than the home domain. It is perhaps the last stance taken by Fishman that is more important for languages such as Telugu in an immigrant context.

Language maintenance is not the opposite action of language shift. Fasold (1987, p.213) refers to LM and LS as two sides of the same coin. Various factors such as the population of the speakers, usage in various domains (education, administration, religion, home, etc.), functional transparency and functional load (Pandharipande, 2002), economic and political control, status and, finally, literariness of a language determine how well a language can be maintained. If the maintenance of a language is threatened, then this could lead to different language loss scenarios ranging from an individual level to a whole speech community. Language shift, attrition, death, extinction and endangerment are different categorisations of languages under threat. According to Fasold (1987, p.213) both language shift and maintenance are products of the long-term, collective decisions of a language community.

In their study on Tamil speakers in Melbourne, Australia, Fernandez and Clyne (2007, pp.174–75) outlined a rubric to measure the level of maintenance. They divided the maintenance efforts into four categories: 1) *strong maintenance* is when HL is used family-wide among all generations; 2) *medium to weak* is when the first generation (or the parent generation) use HL among themselves and to their children, but the children respond in English (or the dominant language); 3) *weak maintenance* is when there is an increasing tendency to use English among all generations (more lexical transfer from English to HL is observed in this category); and, 4) *advanced shift* is when English

becomes the home language completely. HL may be used outside the family with community speakers.

### **3.2.2 Factors that Lead to Both LM and LS – The Ambivalent Factors**

Kloss (1966) coined the term *ambivalent factors* for language maintenance and language shift studies. His factors are a combination of both attitudes (of the in-group and out-group members) as well the historical and political factors. A critical review of the ambivalent factors is presented below.

*A high education level* of immigrants will enable them to maintain their language through schools, the media, etc. In some countries, even those who are economically disadvantaged have institutional support provided by the government (for example, Bangla/Sylheti schools in London and Leeds (Rasinger, 2007; Hamid, 2011)) or the community's host country (Turkish community in Germany (Yagmur, 2011)). But there is insufficient evidence to show that such schools lead to uninterrupted language maintenance (see Prabhakaran's (1991) case study in Section 3.7.2). Being highly educated may also lead to a shift due to career ambitions leading to assimilation and loss of language. Some communities may assimilate (or acculturate) (Schuman, 1976) linguistically but they maintain other aspects of their culture at home and in social networks (for examples, see the case studies in Sections 3.6.1 and 3.6.2).

*Low education* may result in strong group solidarity. A tendency to stay aloof from the mainstream culture and preserve immigrants' own traditions may lead to language maintenance (Rasinger's (2007) study of the Bengali/Sylheti community). Children of these immigrants may not want to share the disadvantages of their parents' generations and hence assimilate with the dominant culture (see Canagarajah (2008); case study in Section 3.6.3).

Kloss (1966) claims that being present in *large numbers* may result in the establishment of educational institutions, minority press and political influence, and reduce the need for intermarriage. But, it may also lead to more contacts with the dominant environment, which could hasten LS (for example, second generation British Bangladeshis (Rasinger, 2012)). A smaller population may lead to language maintenance due to strong networking (e.g. the Sylheti community in Leeds (Hamid, 2011)) and LS due to not having enough financial support to run schools or media. However, it must be noted that smaller but denser settlements may lead to maintenance of the heritage language. Communities that are dispersed geographically, such as the Sinhala community in the UK (Alladina and Edwards, 1991) may not develop a sense of linguistic and cultural identity.

Being culturally similar to the dominant group may foster positive attitudes in the majority group towards the minority, which could lead to provisions to maintain the heritage language. It may also lead to faster assimilation with the dominant culture and hence LS (e.g. Dutch and German groups in Australia (Clyne, 2003)). Being culturally dissimilar may lead to better networking among the minorities, which helps in LM. It may lead to shift when the minorities are neglected by the dominant culture and no provisions for maintenance are made. Although some communities are culturally dissimilar, the colonial experience may carry over to the host country, which could lead to a favouring of the dominant language. Clyne (2003) lists the Maltese community as an example of a carried-over colonial experience in Australia, and Canagarajah (2008) found similar behaviours among the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in the US, Canada and the UK.

There are several exceptions to these factors. For example, larger settlements leading to language maintenance may not always be the case. Rasinger (2012; 2013) found that second-generation Bangla speakers in London's Tower Hamlets (the largest Bangladeshi settlement in the UK) prefer to shift towards English for socio-economic reasons. Fernandez and Clyne (2007) argue that the pre-immigration experience may not be a strong factor for language maintenance. The Sri Lankan Tamil-speaking immigrants in Australia, who were under an oppressive regime in their home country, exhibited ambivalent behaviours. For some, the shift to English that began in Sri Lanka continued in Australia, and for others, there has been a resurgence of interest in preserving their language in the host country, which has led to its maintenance. Kloss's (1966) ambivalent factors underscore the difficulty involved in designing a standard framework to understand the LMLS patterns of different communities in different settings.

### **3.3 Bilingualism and LMLS**

In this review, bilingualism is used as an all-encompassing term to mean the ability to use more than one language, following Grosjean (2010a, p.4) who defines bilinguals as 'those who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives'. Multilingualism is also used in this review in the same vein.

Bilingualism is a common characteristic of people in both stable and unstable language contact situations. While in stable contact situations, languages have their specified roles and one does not replace another, in unstable situations, language/s are under threat of being replaced in all domains by a dominant language of the region. From the examples discussed above, it can be said that in the UK and other English-speaking (anglophone) countries, the immigrant languages and English are in an unstable language contact situation. In the following section, bilingualism, its reasons and forms, which are applicable to immigrant communities in general, are discussed.



To begin with, bilingualism is not a modern phenomenon. Intergroup linguistic contact leads to bilingualism. Bilingualism or multilingualism is the ability of individuals in a group or society to speak or, more correctly, use multiple languages for communication (Grosjean, 2010a). It is a normal way of life for the majority of the world's population. In fact, it is estimated that two-thirds of the world's children grow up in a bilingual environment (Crystal, 1997, p.362). Bilingualism is expected to increase in the future because of factors such as globalisation, migration, technological advancement and the so-called 'blurring down of political borders' (Dewaele et al., 2003, p.1). Human migration is often acknowledged as a major (if not the only) contributor to language change and bilingualism (Tabouret-Keller, 2004).

Ethnologue identifies over 7,000 languages in the world, of which approximately 390 have more than a million<sup>16</sup> speakers each (Lewis et al., 2013), which means that most countries are 'expected' to be multilingual in one way or another (Grosjean, 1982; Srivastava, 1990, p.37). There may be exceptions to this situation, such as the geographically (Saint Helena and Greenland) or politically isolated territories (North Korea) (Grosjean, 2010a). Even in countries with only one dominant language, such as the US, the UK and Japan, there are people who speak other languages (Crystal, 1997). Therefore, societal multilingualism or bilingualism is rather a norm than a speciality.

At an individual level bi-/multilingualism means the ability to use (possibly speak) more than one language. Researchers in bilingual/multilingual studies, find the verb *speak* to be a major road block when it comes to defining bilingualism (Grosjean, 1982). This, coupled with *fluency* presents even harsher challenges. Bloomfield (1935) defined bilingualism as having a native-like control of two or more languages, adding, however, that perfection is a relative idea. Grosjean (2010b) is critical of this view and observed that most bilinguals are not proficient in all the languages they speak. Weinreich (1953), on the other hand, is satisfied with the simple definition of alternate use of two languages. For Haugen (1953), what mattered was the ability to produce meaningful utterances in the second language, which also is an ambiguous definition because, as Edwards (2004, p.7) points out, if an English monolingual can say 'C'est la vie', then that is a meaningful utterance but may not necessarily make him/her an English/French bilingual. Haugen (1969, cited in Grosjean, 2010a, p.22) maintains that a perfect bilingual (i.e. two monolinguals in one) is theoretically possible but difficult to find in real life.

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<sup>16</sup> It is important to acknowledge that over 6700 languages are spoken by a very small population, making most of these languages endangered in one way or another. Ethnologue estimates that over 95% of the languages are spoken by less than 1.2 % of the world's population.

Experts agree that bilingualism is not just the ability to use two (or more) languages with equal ease (Grosjean, 1982; Romaine, 1995). Using two or more languages with equal ease is known as balanced bilingualism. Even though balanced bilingualism exists, for example, interpreters, translators and some others, it is not a very common phenomenon (Grosjean, 2010a). Most bilinguals are not equally fluent in both languages they use. Some can only speak another language and may not be able to read or write in it and for some it is the other way around; for example, scientists who write their papers in a language that is not their own. Some may be able to speak another language with ease but with an interference from their first language, and some may only be able to understand and not speak another language (the last type is known as passive bilingualism). In this way, there are many forms of bilingualism and such bilingualism is influenced by many aspects such as age at acquisition of the second language, how it is learned (simultaneously with the first language or in a separate setting), whether it is learned formally or informally (at school or through other means), and how much opportunity there is to use another language.

### **3.3.1 The Complementarity Principle**

'Necessity is the mother of bilingualism' (Haugen, 1972 p.309). Bilinguals acquire their languages to be used for different reasons, in different domains and with different people. Grosjean (1997; 2006; 2010a) calls it the complementarity principle. According to this principle, a bilingual's competence (fluency) in a given language depends on the need to use that language. For example, one may make use of the Telugu language for prayer but may need English to count large numbers. Even though English is the dominant language (i.e. the one used in most domains) for the individual, aspects such as praying and the ability to express humour may be stronger in Telugu. Juxtaposing these languages for the purposes mentioned proves difficult for some, if not impossible. Some Telugu participants in this study said that they do not sound very funny when they tell jokes in English because, for humour, they prefer Telugu and things become more difficult when they have to translate Telugu jokes into English. Grosjean (2010a) maintains that fluency among bilinguals depends on their needs and, because their language repertoire is subject to change as the environment changes, their fluency changes too. What bilinguals need is adaptable language behaviour because they have to interact with fellow bilinguals as well as monolinguals.

More interestingly, there is research debate about whether speaking different languages leads to changes in the personalities<sup>17</sup> of bilinguals. While Grosjean (1982) argues that a

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<sup>17</sup> This, popularly known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (also known as linguistic relativity), claims that there is a relationship between the structures of the native language and the world view (personality) one acquires learning that language. Some experiments conducted on bilinguals using the Big Five Index (BFI – Openness,

bilingual may not necessarily be two monolinguals in one person, Pavlenko (2006) found that a bilingual may not behave like a monolingual during communication and that there may be different verbal and non-verbal behaviours as they switch between languages. In a study of Spanish-German bilinguals, Veltkamp et al. (2013) found that these bilinguals scored high on extraversion in Spanish tests and agreeability in German, thus showing that the languages influence the personality of the individuals.

Does this imply that shifting to English for the Telugus means shifting from their culture as well? In the South African Telugu community study, Prabhakaran (1991) observed linguistic assimilation patterns not just with the English group but also with the Tamil group, especially in the early days of colonial immigration. This was because the latter is demographically larger than the Telugu community. This also meant intermarriages and cultural assimilation. However, she also noted that there has been a resurgence of cultural (religious and linguistic) identity among the younger generation.

### **3.3.2 Compound and Coordinate Bilingualism**

This is one of the earlier categorisations of bilingualism. Weinreich (1953), and later Fishman (1964; 1972), defined bilingualism as being compound and coordinate. Compound bilingualism is when the child learns two languages (L1 and L2) as a result of both being used simultaneously. For example, the child grows up with parents who speak both Telugu and English at home. Coordinate bilingualism is when a child learns the languages in separate environments. For example, the child learns Telugu at home, because that is the only language she is exposed to at home, and she speaks/learns English at school. In this case, English does not become the home language and Telugu is not used at school. In Fishman's (1964, p.40) opinion, coordinate bilingualism is 'inherently healthier' in societies where the dominant language is different from the heritage language.

The languages are interdependent in compound bilingualism and independent in coordinate bilingualism (Romaine, 1995, p.79). This means that, for a compound bilingual, the word associations are with both languages; for instance, for a child who learns English and Telugu at home, the Telugu word *annam* and the English equivalent *rice* will have the same lexical association with the two words. Whereas for a coordinately bilingual child, these two words will have separate associations. Romaine (1995) concluded that most neuropsychological studies conducted to test the differences between these two types of bilingualism have yielded inconclusive results because it is difficult to predict which is inherently healthier than the other.

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Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeability and Neuroticism (OCEAN)) revealed interesting results with different languages scoring differently in the factors measured (Ramirez-Esparza et al., 2006; Veltkamp et al., 2013).

### **3.3.3 Additive and Subtractive Bilingualism**

This concept is discussed in LMLS studies frequently (Landry and Allard, 1987; 1992; Thomason, 2001; Edwards, 2012; Grosjean, 1982). When two languages are useful and valued, there tends to be interest and effort in acquiring both languages and maintaining them. This is the additive aspect of bilingualism first mentioned by Lambert (1975). His examples of additive bilingualism include learning Afrikaans and English in South Africa, French and English in Canada and Hebrew and English in Israel, where these languages have equal importance and social relevance in their respective contexts. He noted that the subtractive form of bilingualism is experienced by ethnic minorities, when they are expected to give more preference to the dominant language in order to assimilate. This more or less leads to one language (the dominant one) replacing the other; in other words, language shift in immigrant communities. If learning a new language leads to 'repertoire expansion', it is called additive bilingualism, and if it replaces the earlier variety, it is called subtractive bilingualism (Edwards, 2012, p.13).

However, repertoire expansion and competence in each language of the linguistic repertoire is a challenge to define. It was noted earlier that having equal competence in all the languages that an individual knows (balanced bilingualism) is rare. Bilingualism or multilingualism has always been viewed with suspicion and doubt, both from an individual and a community (sometimes a nationalistic) standpoint. Beardsmore (2003, p.10) stated that there is 'a deep seated and widespread fear of bilingualism' and such fears can act against the maintenance of one's language. He lists four fears that can act against bilingualism in a society: parental fears (concerns about children's mental development if they are bilingual); cultural fears (pressure to assimilate with the dominant culture); educational fears (unavailability of bilingual education); and politico ideological fears (pressure to use one language at a national level for better integration).

Research conducted in English-speaking countries such as the US, Australia and the UK reveals very interesting insights into opinions about bilingualism. McKay (1997) argues against the fear in the US of immigrants not learning English and their unwillingness to assimilate with the dominant culture. McKay (1997) states that the lack of English knowledge may not always be due to their unwillingness to learn but because of unavailable learning facilities. In the UK, though the policy does not suppress multilingualism, education in minority languages receives very little government sanction and it is up to the minority communities to carry out that responsibility (Rampton et al., 1997). Recently, there has been a campaign against the decision of exam board to stop offering GCSEs and A-levels in community languages in the UK. Even though the

government has announced its willingness to continue these languages, the support offered is only until 2018 (UK GovPressRelease, 2015).

There are of course positive views towards bilingualism expressed at a national level. For example, in Australia and South Africa, the policy decisions were made based on the desirable cultural and linguistic diversity (Clyne, 1997; Pierce and Ridge, 1997; Clyne and Jupp, 2011). But, how far the policies are successful in assisting the maintenance of heritage languages needs deeper evaluation.

Much of the recent research on the topic is concerned with the study of differences in the cognitive capacities of bilingual and monolingual children (cf. for a review, see Lauchlan et al., 2013; Leikin, 2012). These studies have found (but not without limitations) that bilingualism is inherently healthier and assists better creative and cognitive performance (Leikin, 2012). In contrast to the views and opinions on bilingualism in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the second half and through to the present day, there seems to be a positive reception given to the topic. Despite claims such as bilingualism being dangerous, research suggests that bilingualism is mostly positive. Bilinguals (especially balanced bilinguals) perform better at school (Cummins, 1984), have a better understanding of both cultures and healthy personalities (Baetens Beardsmore, 1987). Even the recent aphasia research suggests that adding another language to the linguistic repertoire later in life may delay the onset of Alzheimer's disease (Craik, Bialystok and Freedman, 2010). Despite such advantages, some parents still hesitate to promote heritage language learning in their children. The reason for this, as Lauchlen et al. (2013) observed, could be due to the strong negative perceptions that emerged in the past about bilingualism in monolingual societies.

### **3.3.4 Experience of Bilingualism in India for the Telugus**

Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2007) observed that, contrary to the belief that the status of English would decrease with the exit of the British, English has not only retained its importance but also become stronger with its wide usage in administration, education and other sectors. They (ibid., p.78) observed that there is great interest in education in the English medium because English is perceived to be the language of 'high prestige'.

Most Telugus immigrate to the UK either for employment or education, both of which require knowledge of all four skills (listening, reading, writing and speaking) of the English language. This means that they are bilingual even while in India. The Indian census (2001<sup>18</sup>) data suggests that 25% of the people who reported Telugu as their main language are bilingual. In that, 42% of bilingualism is in Telugu and English (see Section

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<sup>18</sup> The 2001 Indian census data is being used with the awareness that it is old and the situation now could be very different. However, the current (2011) data on bi/tri-lingualism in India is not yet available.

2.2). Assuming that most Telugus are from Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, they may learn English mainly in school and use it only at work. Telugu is usually the dominant language at home and other social domains. However, one cannot overgeneralise that all Telugus with jobs or at school use only English while in those settings all the time. For most people at work or school in Andhra Pradesh, English is restricted to formal situations such as letters, emails, meetings, etc. In most cases, Telugu and English, just as other major Indian languages, have separate functions and one does not replace the other (Kachru, 1976; Sridhar, 1985; Pandharipande, 2002).

Having said that, partial language shift is imminent for most language communities settled in other linguistic states (Sridhar, 1993). The Telugu community in Karnataka (Sridhar, 1993) and Gujarat (Pandharipande, 2002) along with other communities have to learn the host community language for survival purposes. The bilingualism data (CensusIndia, 2001b) suggests that the language maintenance of the Telugus is better in the states with geographical and linguistic proximity to Andhra Pradesh and the Telugu language, respectively. For example, 7% of those who reported Kannada and 3% of those who reported Tamil as their first languages reported Telugu as their second language. A similar comparison with Hindi and Gujarati (both Indo-Aryan languages) returns a percentage so small (0%) that, compared to the first-language speakers of these two languages, Telugu speakers are negligible. However, the representation of this data in this manner is flawed in two ways. 1) We do not know how many Telugu speakers are actually present in these states. It is possible that, because of the geographic proximity, there are more Telugu speakers in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu than in the north and western states of India, in which case the smaller percentage is justified. 2) We do not know if the speakers who reported Kannada, Tamil, Hindi and Gujarati as their first languages are all from their respective home states (Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, northern Hindi-speaking states and Gujarat). It is possible that some of in Andhra Pradesh and report their heritage languages as their second language.

The human development report of 2005 (Desai et al., 2010) also shows that English medium education is highly preferred in India, especially in the urban centres. Data from Andhra Pradesh shows that 17% of the children in schools are enrolled in English medium education. Andhra Pradesh is in sixth place in terms of preference for English medium education, where the national average is 10%. Piecing together the data discussed in this section, it appears that Telugus are not averse to learning English and, compared to most other states or linguistic communities, Telugu speakers use more English.

### **3.3.5 Bilingualism and Telugus in the UK (based on UK Census, 2011)**

In the present case of the Telugu speakers in the UK, bilingualism is the ability to use Telugu and English. As explained above, most Telugu speakers are bilingual in these two languages before they migrate to other countries. The recent main language report (Census, 2011) reveals very interesting data about bilingualism (the ability to speak English) among heritage language speakers over the age of three in England and Wales. According to this report, 14,653 reported Telugu as their main language. Of this total, 14,145 (96.5%) reported proficiency in English. This, when compared to all other reported South Asian languages (75.5% reported proficiency in English), is very high. There are only three Dravidian languages that are explicitly stated in the report: Telugu, Tamil (100,689) and Malayalam (36,186). 83% of Tamils reported proficiency in English and 92.6% reported as Malayalam speakers. Among the three Dravidian languages, Tamils reported the least proficiency in English. However, it must be noted that the Tamil population includes Sri Lankan Tamils along with Indian Tamils. This situation applies to Tamils in India as well, where they are reported to be the least bilingual compared to all the South Indian states where Dravidian languages are spoken (Amritavalli and Jayaseelan, 2007). The data suggests that the Telugu population is predominantly bilingual in English and the heritage language.

How does being bilingual in English and Telugu affect the language maintenance of the second generation? It was noted earlier that, most Indians have the experience of being bilingual before they emigrate (Sridhar, 1989) to the Global North destinations. The assumption that I make here is that the fears associated with bilingualism (see Section 3.3.3) do not apply to Indians or other immigrants who come from stable bilingual societies and that additive bilingualism is a norm. However, as noted in Section 3.3, English-speaking countries such as the UK offer unstable language contact situations because of the role English plays in most domains of interaction. If the parents are bilingual, they may use both languages with their children at home. Once English is used freely in the home domain, this may affect the heritage language usage, leading to subtractive bilingualism.

Does it help to have monolingual speakers at home, then? Sridhar (1988) noted that having monolingual grandparents at home motivates the children to speak the heritage language. This is also confirmed in other studies such as the Sylhetis in Leeds where the participant group spoke to their grandparents exclusively in their mother tongue (Hamid, 2011). Mesthrie (2002, p.340), however, found contradicting evidence among some South African Indians. He actually noticed the monolingual grandparent generation learning English at home from their grandchildren. He called this the 'reverse cycle of

reinforcement' and the need to talk to the grandchildren in the language they understand is a motivation behind this. He also claimed that there is a two-way reinforcement of languages. The recent restrictions on the migration to the UK are not very conducive to having the grandparent generation living with the families.

In summation, the opportunities to reinforce the use of English appear to be more in English-speaking countries. Heritage language learning, in the smaller and geographically dispersed communities, is dependent on home usage. However, one cannot evaluate the nature of bilingualism unless all the domains of interaction are taken into consideration along with the individual social network structures, as there may be other ways of maintaining the heritage language and culture apart from just at home.

### **3.4 Domain Language, Roles and Functions**

Based on Fishman's (1965, p.67) famous rhetoric, *who speaks what language to whom and when?*, the habitual language use, the social psychological constructs of language maintenance in various domains of interaction and behaviour towards language (also known as the three topical subdivisions for LMLS studies (Fishman, 1972)) have inspired a great number of studies in the field of sociology of language (Sridhar, 1988; Prabhakaran, 1991; Khemlani-David, 1998; Fernandez and Clyne, 2007; Canagarajah, 2008). In bilingual societies, where there are two or more languages or language varieties (dialects) used in social interactions, the choice has to be made between which language or language variety should be used where, with whom and why should such distinctions should be made.

Weinreich (1953) spoke about the functions of the languages in a contact situation; that is, the extra-structural approach to the study of languages in contact. He emphasized that language shift has to be analysed according to the roles the mother tongue and other language(s) (in an immigrant context, the dominant language) play in various functions of society (government, school, informal gathering, home, etc.). Fishman (1965; 1972) further extended this concept by attaching role-relations to these domains, thus adding the 'who-whom' part of the famous question. This means that even in one particular domain, such as the home domain, the language or variety used could be different based on the relationship one has with the family member. For example, child-parent, grandchild-grandparent, siblings, etc.

Fishman (1972) defines 'functions' as socio-psychological factors of individual motivation rather than of a groups' purpose. It is the interlocutors who play a major role in the language use; hence role-relations are quite significant for the study of LMLS. According to Fishman (1964), language behaviours in the same domain may not be the same for



different communities or to all members of a single community. Having said that, it is difficult to propose a specific domain for a specific language use. Language behaviour (usage) exhibited by members of different communities, of different age groups, of different cultures and so on varies. In her research on Paraguayan bilingualism, Rubin (1965, p.52) noted that:

Spanish is used in schools, in formal situations, in speaking to government officials, in speaking to strangers and Guarani is used in speaking to friends, to servants, in speaking of love, to confess to a priest, and 'between ourselves'.

Domains, functions and role-relations can broadly be categorised as informal and formal. Situations of language use at home, friendship network, shopping, etc. may be in the informal domain and language use in government establishments, schools, banks, etc. in the formal domain (Rasinger, 2005). However, as noted above, which language one would use in these domains depends on the participants in the conversation. For example, a person may use the heritage language at home while speaking to his mother, English at work, the same or a different variety of the heritage language in the same office as a friend and English (possibly a less formal variety) when talking to his sibling at home.

In her Obertwart study, Gal (1979) noted that Hungarian was being replaced by German in almost all domains. Although German was known to exist in the province for over 400 years, it was not until the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that it became the language of opportunity because of industrialisation and started replacing Hungarian as the primary language, first at work and then in other domains. Gal (1978; 1979) noted that, apart from being perceived as the language of opportunity, German also acquired the status of the young people's language and the language of modernisation. The former appealed to the youth and the latter to women, who could have spearheaded the shift from Hungarian to German.

Many studies in LMLS have employed the domain language use it as a framework to measure the maintenance of heritage languages. However, in this day and age of technology, maintaining contacts with families in the source country has become easier. For this reason, even the contact aspect with India and the use of communication technology to maintain such contacts is discussed briefly in the analysis (see Section 6.3.3).

### **3.5 Social Network Theory**

This study does not include an in-depth social network analysis; however, information regarding the L1 contact of Telugu and English in the participants' social networks was sought and used to understand how this affects other language attitudes. This review of social network theory is only presented broadly to discuss its basic tenets.

Adapted to suit the linguistic research needs by Milroy (1987), social network theory (SNT) borrowed extensively from 'exchange theory' proposed by George Homans in 1958. Milroy's SNT not only offers a strong basis for understanding linguistic aspects such as language choice, style, shift, maintenance and change but also offers useful fieldwork suggestions and approaches for a linguist. This has been one of the major approaches in LMLS since its introduction in the late 1970s. It is appreciated for its fine-grained analysis of the network relationships as opposed to a macroscopic view of LMLS as a larger societal aspect (de Bot and Stoessel, 2002).

In a study of the occurrence of phonological variables in three well-defined communities in Belfast, Milroy (1987, p.43) showed that a close-knit network has the capacity to function as 'a norm enforcement mechanism' (Milroy, 1987). That is to say, the members with whom a speaker interacts in his/her personal network on a regular basis influence the linguistic behaviour (language choice, style etc.) of that speaker.

In the Austrian case study discussed in Section 3.4, Gal (1979) found that speakers who identified themselves as having a peasant status had covert prestige and maintained Hungarian, whereas speakers who aimed for the urban status opted for overt prestige and shifted to (or used) German. On the surface, this appears to be related to prestige factors. However, she found that the people with whom one interacts and their identities (peasant or urbanite) also determine the language choice. Gal (1979) also noted that the percentage of contacts, in other words the density of contacts, is of crucial importance in determining these ties or identities.

There are two kinds of density network: high and low. A high-density network is when an individual is connected with others and those others are also connected with (or know) each other. For example, a colleague at work is connected with a friend in the pub or playground, and they all go to the same shop where they know the shopkeeper (who may also be a friend or a cousin) and they all go to the same religious place and know people from there too. This means that most of the interaction is with people from the same or very similar backgrounds. A low-density network occurs when the worlds of different functions (like work, school, religious place, shops) are separated. This means that, unlike in high-density networks, the people with whom one interacts in a low-density network do not necessarily know each other. So, there is wider scope for more linguistic influences such as phonetic changes, new lexicons, language varieties or even languages added to one's linguistic repertoire.

Close-knit networks, which are dense and multiplex, have the capacity to maintain and even enforce regional conventions and norms, including linguistic ones. Such networks can oppose dominant institutional values and standardised linguistic norms (Milroy and

Milroy, 1992) and lead to covert prestige. Sharma (2011) observed that younger men and older women (of the Punjabi community) who had dense and close-knit networks showed less linguistic variation. Among the younger men belonging to second generation, she noticed a preference for traditional values in matters such as selecting a partner for marriage. Similarly, Rasinger (2005) observed that children in the close-knit Bangla/Sylheti community of Tower Hamlets may be responsible for English language usage at home by the mothers and family members, because of their exposure to school education outside the Bangla social network.

In discussing the perspectives of bilingualism and language choice, Li (1994) observed that the gap between the macro-societal perspective (the individual's language behaviours conditioned by society) and micro-interactional perspective (the individual's capacity to choose) can be filled by the social network perspective. This is because the social network approach clearly identifies the relationship between social structures and language use (choice). In short, the two important questions of 'how' and 'why', which are not part of Fishman's (1965, p.67) famous question, 'who speaks what language to whom and when', are covered in the social network approach.

'A network approach is more feasible with groups who may be economically marginal, or powerless, and resident in homogeneous neighbourhoods and territorially well-defined neighbourhoods' (Li, 1994, p.33). Applying the social network approach to assess the linguistic changes in Telugu speakers is not within the scope of this project. In addition, given the size of the Telugu community, it is highly unlikely that they will be in dense settlements because the largest numbers in Hounslow (1370) and Newham (1266) are in actuality very small. However, the social network approach is used to determine the language choice of the Telugus. Understanding the people and their languages is vital to understanding the opportunities they have for language maintenance.

In summary, from what has been discussed so far, it is evident that the opportunities a language offers play an important role in the language choice decisions of the speakers. In an immigrant context, this issue tends to be more outwardly apparent because the language of the host country is inevitably the only language of opportunity. It can also be seen that cultural similarity or dissimilarity and the desire to assimilate (Kloss 1966) motivate the children of immigrants to shift to the dominant language. This is an important aspect of the research from an attitudinal point of view. The next chapter discusses the role of attitudes in language maintenance and shift.

### **3.6 Dravidian Language Diaspora Case Studies in LMLS**

Case studies on Dravidian language maintenance in different countries reveal different attitudes and behaviours towards language maintenance and shift. Three studies (Kannada speakers in New York (Sridhar, 1988), Telugu speakers in the Natal province of South Africa (Prabhakaran, 1991) and Sri Lankan Tamil speakers in the US, the UK and Canada (Canagarajah, 2008)) are reported here. These studies are selected because of the close associations between the Kannada, Tamil and Telugu languages and cultures; all are South Indian languages, all have classical language status and there are many similarities such as food, clothing, festivals, etc. These three studies offer invaluable direction to the current study of the Telugus in London.

#### **3.6.1 Kannadigas in New York City**

##### **Language Maintenance and Language Shift among Asian-Indians: Kannadigas in the New York Area**

Using Fishman's (1964) theory on domain language use and social, psychological and cultural processes for language maintenance, Sridhar (1988) conducted a mixed method study with 21 (40 participants) Kannada families in New York. She observed that the preference for English among the Kannada-speaking participants in New York could be attributed to the fact that English enabled them to gain a respectable position in society through access to highly skilled jobs. She also observed that the children have passive bilingual competence (can understand and speak a few Kannada words) in spite of the conscious efforts of most parents to speak Kannada at home. The presence of a grandparent generation in some families revealed signs of greater Kannada usage among the children. She claimed that the children exhibited tendencies of assimilation to the dominant culture, although the parents maintained a favourable attitude for the maintenance of the Indian and Karnataka culture.

The participant group's assimilation tendencies, especially of the parent generation, was controlled if not complete. She reported that they maintained 'ethnic separateness' in matters such as food, circles of friend, celebration of festivals, etc. Though the attitudes of the participant group were not 'fatalistic' (p.85) about the survival of Kannada in their future lives, the behaviour suggested a shift to English. Sridhar (1988) noted that, in spite of the small size of the community compared to other Indian communities, the Kannadigas are more organised and make efforts to celebrate and maintain their culture.

Sridhar (1988) made pertinent observations about the importance of culture in maintaining identity. Apart from the mention of festivals, food and social networks, there is no other

explanation provided regarding the culture that is uniquely Kannada. Whether or not speaking Kannada is an integral part of the Kannada culture is not sufficiently explained.

### **3.6.2 Telugus in South Africa**

#### **The Telugu Language and its Influence on the Cultural Lives of the Hindu 'Pravasandhras' in South Africa**

Prabhakaran's (1991) study of the Telugu community in Natal involved Telugu settlers who are the descendants of the colonial immigrants (the old diaspora). It should be noted that when she conducted the study, South Africa was still an English (language) dominant nation and apartheid was still in existence. Because of the practice of apartheid, the Indian government imposed a political, economic and cultural boycott against the South African government. This meant that the Telugu community in South Africa received little benefit from India for the enrichment of their culture and language. Prabhakaran (1991) stressed the fact that the Telugus have been a sub-minority from the time of their arrival to the present day. The identity of the Telugus was overshadowed by the dominant group (English-speaking group) or the Tamil group, which was bigger than the Telugus. She noted a cultural assimilation of the Telugus with the Tamils in the early days and, later, a linguistic assimilation with the English.

Her study revealed that the Telugu language was still maintained in the region at that time, though the numbers were small. Considering the fact that the first group of Telugus arrived into South Africa 130 years ago, this is a significant finding. The main reason for the maintenance of their language is religion, as Prabhakaran (1991) pointed out. The community, being predominantly Hindu, gets together to organise various events. Since the abolition of apartheid and changes in political ideologies, Prabhakaran (1998) reported a positive resurgence of community activities towards the maintenance of culture and language. Even during apartheid, there was institutional support from the government to teach Telugu in schools; however, its efficacy was debatable.

She observed that the role of the cultural organisations in maintaining culture and language is noteworthy. The research seems to reveal positive results about the maintenance of the Telugu language in South Africa, in spite of the many challenges the old diaspora settlers had to face. The study makes no claims of uninterrupted language maintenance across the community, but makes it clear that language maintenance and language loyalty are stronger in only some pockets where there is better community cohesion and participation.

In spite of being a very exhaustive study, it does not outline a clear theoretical framework against which language maintenance and shift can be measured. The study comes across

more as a documentation of the history of the Telugu community in general rather than a linguistic study. Because it covers only one religious community (Hindu), the true picture of the overall maintenance of the Telugu language in the region does not emerge. High reliance on the cultural organisations to conduct the study may have caused bias because the organisations are very likely to want to present only their side of the story and may only introduce participants with whom they are connected.

### **3.6.3 Tamils in US, UK and Canada**

#### **Language Shift and the Family: Questions from the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora**

Canagarajah's (2008) ethnographic research of the Sri Lankan Tamil families who settled in English-speaking host countries (the US, the UK and Canada) observed the reasons for language shift in the families. Using Fishman's (1991; 2001) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), Canagarajah (2008) evaluated the role played by the family in shifting from Tamil to English. The aim of the study was to understand how the families negotiated between language maintenance and other needs and priorities such as economic growth and social acceptance.

The Sri Lankan diaspora in this study is different from the two case studies mentioned above. Though it technically falls under the umbrella of new diaspora, it is actually a 'victim diaspora'<sup>19</sup> (Cohen, 2008, p.39) because most Tamils emigrated from Sri Lanka as refugees 'after 1983 when the ethnic conflict took a military turn' (ibid., p.146). He noted that this diaspora status makes a big difference in the maintenance of the language because, unlike other professional diasporas (Cohen, 2008) such as Indians and Pakistanis, the victim diaspora has little opportunity to maintain contact with the mainland. Because they are from a different country, they usually try to maintain a separate identity as Sri Lankan Tamils instead of an overarching Tamil identity (according to Canagarajah (2008) this is also because the Indian Tamils may not be keen to associate themselves with the Sri Lankan Tamil identity due to the history of conflict). Another interesting point to note is that the first generation were predominantly monolingual at the time of migration.

In Canagarajah's (2008) mixed method study, which was mainly qualitative by nature, he found that the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils showed assimilation to English. His study shows that being monolingual in the first generation may not delay language shift

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<sup>19</sup> Cohen (2008) identified two different diasporas, 'victim' and 'professional'. The victim diaspora are immigrants who seek asylum and the professional diaspora are those who come for employment. The professional diaspora has the added advantage of being more educated, bilingual in English and the heritage language, creating access to jobs in English-speaking countries and the ability to maintain close ties with their homeland.

until the third generation.<sup>20</sup> This is because the parent generation does not insist on passing on their heritage language to their children. He reported accounts from the second-generation participants of how they were encouraged to speak English even at home. He also reported that the institutional factors such as Tamil schools are effective only to a certain extent because, as Fishman (1991; 2001) claimed, they are only as successful as the family's conviction regarding heritage language maintenance.

One of the reasons for the first generation favouring English was also colonial rule. This preference for English was also observed in the grandparent generation because some were educated in the British system in Sri Lanka. Canagarajah (2008) reported that this positive valuation of English is greater in London. Those who did not have the advantage of English education in Sri Lanka and who were economically less advantaged also showed a positive preference for English because they looked at it as an empowering language. He also observed that professionals who are bilingual in Tamil and English display positive behaviours towards language maintenance. Kloss's (1966) ambivalent factor of high and low education contributing towards both maintenance and shift can be observed here. He also observed that women are keener to use English for both economic and social empowerment.

The study reports ambiguous or ambivalent findings. There is no conclusive evidence for language maintenance or language shift based on a set of factors. Although, in all fairness, none of the LMLS studied reviewed in this thesis, or in general, arrived at findings that can point out the exact reasons for language shift or maintenance. What is evident though, is that the general trend is towards shift. Focusing on families alone does not reveal a complete picture of language maintenance or shift. The network structures also need to be observed.

### **3.7 Summarising the LMLS Literature**

In this chapter, LMLS as a discipline and the important sociolinguistic components necessary for its study have been defined, described and reviewed. The notions of dominant and minority languages discussed above help to place English and Telugu as the dominant host language and vulnerable heritage language, respectively. The several types of bilingualisms reviewed above are useful to discuss the linguistic attitudes and behaviour, especially of the second generation, as presented in Chapter 6 (Section 6.2) and the conclusion (Chapter 8). Domain language use is one of the most important theoretical frameworks for the study, incorporated into the survey and interviews. It acts as a simple yet effective solution in understanding the existing situation of language use in

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<sup>20</sup> The classic pattern of language shift: stage 1 – HL monolingualism in the first generation; stage 2 – HL/DL bilingualism in the second generation; stage 3 – DL monolingualism in the third generation (Haugen, 1953).

the intimate and external domains. This, along with the social network aspect, is aimed at understanding which language is spoken where and with whom and how that relates to perceptions about the in-group and the out-group (see Section 6.3 for analysis and discussion).

The various examples of LMLS case studies across the globe, but particularly the Dravidian language case studies in Section 3.6, are a good starting point from which to explore a relatively new territory of Telugu LMLS in the UK. Although this is not the first time a Telugu LMLS has been investigated globally, the insufficiency of literature in the sociolinguistic arena of Dravidian languages makes it difficult to arrive at satisfactory conclusions. However, the case studies discussed above, which used similar conceptual and heuristic frameworks as the current study, are a valuable starting point from which to set the course.

Fishman's (1972) sociology of language as a discipline allows us to consider language from a socio-psychological-performative framework as opposed to, but not in opposition to, the cognitive linguistic-structural framework. While the latter allows for understanding the language competence of individuals, the former is necessary to understand their attitudes. The next chapter focuses on this very aspect of identity and attitudes embedded in language use.



## **Chapter 4: Review of Language Attitudes and Identity**

### **4.1 Introduction**

Language attitudes have been a topic of interest in various sociolinguistic studies (Labov, 1969; 1972; Greenfield and Fishman, 1970; Sridhar, 1988, Prabhakaran, 1991; Yagmur, 2010; 2011; Rasinger, 2012; Beinhoff, 2013). Labov (1969, p.27) observed that the behaviours of speakers are typically 'stratified' and reflect a set of norms, beliefs and subjective attitudes towards not only languages but also particular linguistic features. For example, in her study of perceptions of identity through accent, Beinhoff (2007; 2013) found that the non-native speakers of English (German and Greek) attributed high prestige to Received Pronunciation (RP) and did not consider their respective English accents as comparable to RP. In his study of language shift in the Tamil diaspora (in London, Toronto and Lancaster (California)), Canagarajah (2008, p.164) found that the language attitudes of women regarding English differed from those of men. He noted that the women participants saw English not only as a high-status and prestige language but as a means of self-dependence through employment (the 'utilitarian' motivation).

Attitudes towards language may be created and reinforced through language ideologies, stereotypes and general beliefs about language (Garrett, 2010). This means that the attitudes are influenced by what the in-group speakers, as well as the out-group speakers, think about their language. Such notions about language may create positive or negative perceptions in the speakers who would either want to learn and maintain their language or shift to another for their own or their community's sake. For example, research conducted on the Polish immigrants in Australia has shown that they maintain their language because it is an important symbol of their identity (Smolicz, 1981). In contrast, Sindhis in Malaysia do not mind shifting to English because it is not language that serves as an identity symbol for them (Khemlani-David, 1998).

What makes a language attractive or unattractive, what inspires language loyalty and what instils language antipathy (Fishman 1964) have long been the subject matter of sociolinguistics. Attitudes towards language affect language behaviour. This notion has been researched (Trudgill, 1972; Milroy, 1980; Bourhis and Sachdev, 1984) and many models have been proposed to understand the relationship between language attitudes and language behaviour. A few examples of attitude study frameworks are communication accommodation by Giles et al. (1973), ethnolinguistic vitality by Giles et al. (1977), subjective ethnolinguistic vitality by Bourhis et al. (1981), overt and covert prestige factors by Trudgill (1972) and the social network model by Milroy (1980). The last in the list was

introduced in the previous chapter. In this chapter, the other models are reviewed and later used for discussion (see Chapter 7).

Attitudes towards language are a good indicator of language behaviour, but a generalisation such as positive (favouring maintenance) and negative (causing shift) may be relevant only to a certain extent. What one thinks about one's language may not always be the cause of a certain language behaviour (Maitz, 2011). Sometimes political situations such as ethnic cleansing or genocide may lead to language shift, even if the speakers have a positive attitude towards their languages. For example, Lenca speakers of El Salvador stopped speaking their language as a survival strategy, which eventually led to the death of their language (Campbell, 1994), and some Tamil speakers in Sri Lanka feared using their language because of the prevalent conflict between the state and the rebels (Fernandez and Clyne, 2007; Canagarajah, 2008).

An interesting perspective of language as a resource is offered by Paulston (1994), who says that language is used to achieve a desired result; once the result is achieved, language is not such an important ethnic symbol. As an example, she uses the separation of Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) from Pakistan, i.e. how the Bangla-speaking Hindus and Muslims joined each other in the separatist demands. But, once the desired result was achieved there was no attempt of unification from both sides. In Chapter 2, it was shown how the rise of Telugu nationalism on linguistic grounds (in the 1950s and, later, in the 1980s) could not save the state from being bifurcated in 2014. In the case of the Telugus, the perceived socio-economic development/depravation scored higher than the linguistic affinity of the people of the two Telugu states. Paulston (1994, p.23) claimed that 'people act in their own best and vested interests'. This shows that the attitudes that people have about their language can change over time, depending on various factors. Understanding the language attitudes may not be useful to generalise the behavioural patterns of a language community; however, language attitudes do provide explanations for situations that arise from the prevailing social, economic and political changes on a larger as well as an individual level.

## **4.2 Status and Prestige**

Prestige plays an important role in the language choice of speakers. Karan (2011) observed that people choose to learn and use a particular language or language variety in order to associate themselves with the prestige group. The prestige group could be the dominant language group in the home country or the host country. Usually, this prestige language is associated with economic and personal growth; for example, English in relation to other immigrant languages, and RP in relation to other English accents in the UK (Garrett, 2010).

This association with a language or variety that is usually refined and commonplace (Eckert, 1989) is called *overt prestige* (Trudgill, 1972; Eckert, 1989). Not always do speakers associate themselves with a language or language variety that is refined and standard. Sometimes they associate with the language or language variety that is in opposition to the overt norms (Eckert, 1989). This is called *covert prestige*. Covert prestige may be preferred for group solidarity and inclusion (Milroy, 1987).

In his Norwich study, Trudgill (1972) found that women associated with the Standard English variety more than men. He claimed that men have a more favourable attitude towards working-class speech and they consider that to be of higher prestige than the Standard English variety (Trudgill, 2000). According to him, the reasons for these differences arise from the attitudes generated from societal norms. He claimed that women choose the standard varieties in order to assert their social status linguistically in an otherwise male dominated world. Such claims have been refuted later by studies that investigated the sociolinguistic behaviours of different communities. Milroy's (1987) study of the Irish community in Belfast is one example (see detailed discussion in Section 3.6). Such studies have rejected the idea of basing linguistic variation on prestige factors and socio-economic differences such as gender, working/middle class, etc.

Pandharipande (1992, p.262) observed the immigrant situation in an Indian context. The migrant languages here are other Indian languages. She noted that a language such as Tamil in Gujarat, where Gujarati is the official language, has fewer chances of maintenance than Hindi, which is the national language. At the same time, English, even though a minority language (in terms of actual number of speakers) in India, is maintained because of its high prestige. Figure 4.1 below gives an indication of the high- and low-prestige language maintenance situation in general.

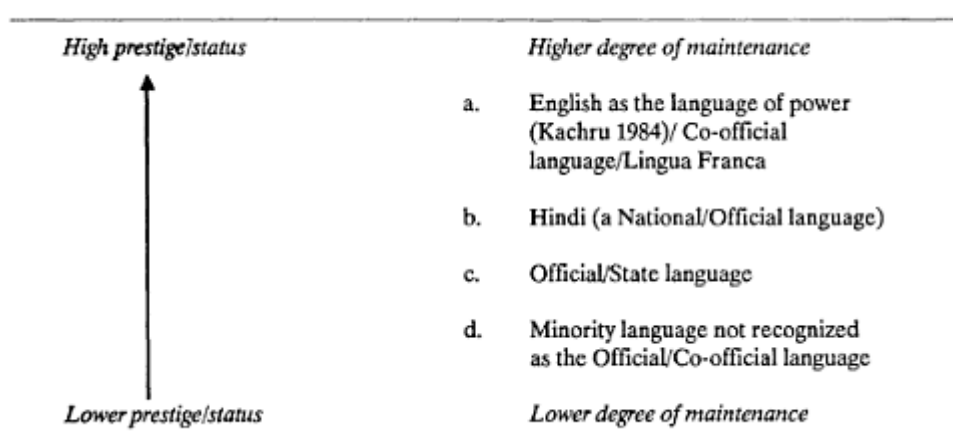


Fig 4.1: High-prestige and low-prestige language situation in India (Pandharipande, 1992)

Languages with higher international status such as French have better chances for maintenance than languages with relatively lower international recognition (Giles et al., 1977); for example, Bangla/Sylheti in London (Rasinger, 2005). By the same logic, Telugu, in spite of being a dominant language in Andhra Pradesh and with an overall population of over 80 million speakers, is still a low-status language in the UK.

In an immigrant situation, where the dominant language is usually the preferred one for networking and upward mobility, emotions about heritage language versus dominant language run high. Studies on Dravidian language immigrants show that a shift to English is a strategy for upward mobility (Sridhar, 1988; Prabhakaran, 1997; Kuncha and Bathula, 2004; Canagarajah, 2008). The children, i.e. the second generation, are observed to use English even at home, thus indicating the completion of language shift in two generations. Sridhar (1988) also notes that the Kannada group she studied belonged to a higher socioeconomic status, much of which could be attributed to their educational qualification and employment, which in turn would not be possible without knowledge of English.

### **4.3 Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory**

Ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) was introduced to understand the complexity of relationships between various linguistic groups belonging to different ethnicities living in any particular geography. EV is defined as that 'which makes an ethnic group behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations' (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977, p.308). According to this theory, 1) status (S), 2) demographic (D) and 3) institutional support (IS) factors make up the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups:  $EV = S + D + IS$

An ethnolinguistic group can have three possible vitalities: low, medium and high, based on their strengths and weakness in each of the EV factors. The greater vitality a language group enjoys the more likely it is to survive as a collective entity in any intergroup contact, and the opposite is true for language groups with less vitality. The three EV factors (Figure 4. 2), also known as objective factors (Bourhis et al., 1981), are explained in detail below.

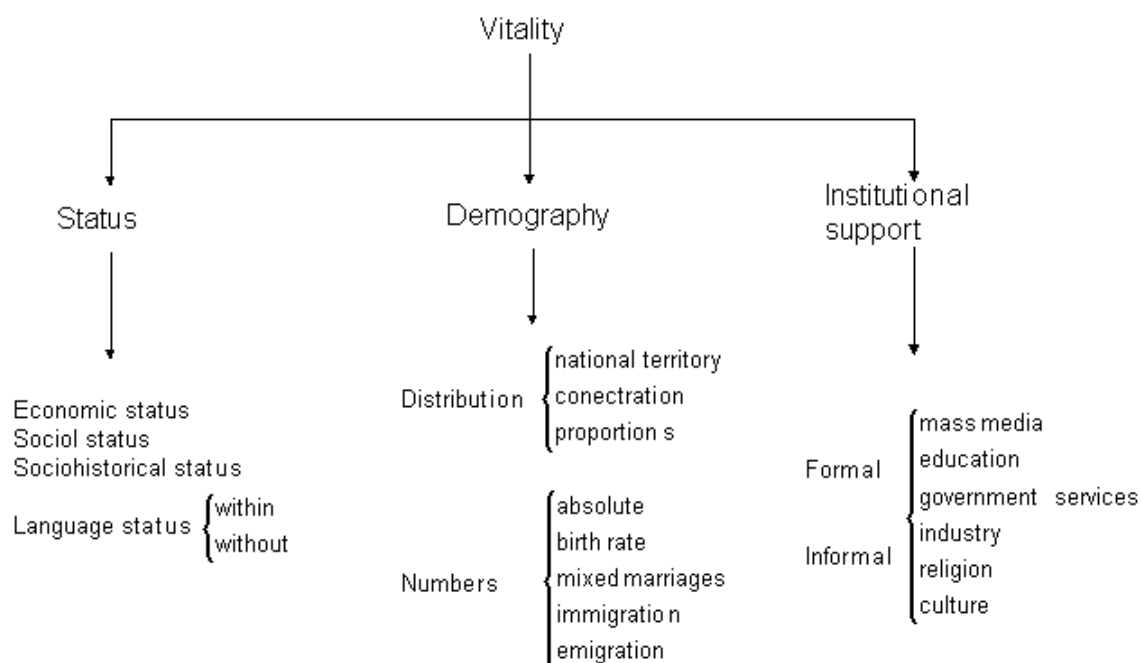


Fig 4.2: Taxonomy of EV variables (based on Bourhis et al., 1981)

### 4.3.1 Status Factors

Also called the prestige variables of the group, the higher status a language group has, the more vitality it will possess as a collective. This overt prestige is usually attributed to these languages and cultures due to their spread through military, colonial, diplomatic or economic activities (Giles et al., 1977). There are four status factors: a) economic status; b) ascribed or social status; c) socio-historical status; and d) language status.

#### 4.3.1.1 Economic Status

This refers to how much control a language group has over the economic situation of a community. Groups with a higher economic status are able to maintain their language, while minority groups with low economic status tend to shift towards the majority language. For example, Appel and Muysken (1987) mention the low economic status of Spanish in the US, giving it the status of the language of poor people; Spanish-speaking parents urge their children to learn and use English so as to prevent them from being disadvantaged in the same ways as the parents. However, Hamid (2011) found that the socio-economic stigmatisation that led to the ghettoisation of the Sylheti speakers (in Leeds, UK) helped them to maintain their language. The ambivalence of the low and high economic status can work for or against the maintenance and shift of language (Kloss, 1966).

#### *4.3.1.2 Social Status*

This is closely aligned to economic status, but differs in terms of the perceptions the people have of the status of their language compared to the high-status language of society. It is said that a group's perception of belonging to a low-status variety of language will lead the shift towards the high-status language. In immigrant contexts, the dominant language of the host country is usually the language of high social and economic status. An example of such a perception in an indigenous setting is seen in the Quechua speakers of South America (Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia) who tend to shift towards Spanish for its perceived high social status (Thomason, 2001). It is interesting to note how the same language (Spanish) has low economic status in one setting (the US), as shown in Section 4.3.1.1, and higher prestige in another (Latin America); this shows that the statuses assigned are in most parts relative to several factors, including context, time and place.

#### *4.3.1.3 Sociohistorical Status*

This refers to the ethnolinguistic group's history: the struggles, defeats, victories, persecutions, dominance, suppressions, trials and tribulations that had to be borne for the common interests of the ethnolinguistic group. Polish immigrants are usually keen to maintain their language because language is a very important symbol of their identity, and is a 'cultural core value' (Smolicz, 1981). This is mainly because of the oppressive regimes Poland had to suffer under Prussia and, later, communist Russia for most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They associate their language with political independence for having to face such adversities, all the time making efforts to maintain their language. However, in this ever-changing globalised world, it is not possible to generalise such behaviours for language communities in all settings. Clyne (1985) observed language shift in the Polish community in certain regions of Australia. This shows that socio-historical factors alone cannot be a basis for language maintenance.

#### *4.3.1.4 Language Status*

This refers to the relative status a language has when compared with others. The lingua francas at local, national and international levels (English being a widely used one, and others such as Spanish, French, Putonghua in China, Hindi in India, Arabic, etc.) have relatively high status. This does not mean that all of these languages have the same high status in every region in which they are used. Hindi has high status in most parts of the northern India, but not as much in southern India (Amritavalli and Jayaseelan, 2007). Just because a language has high status, it does not mean that it will be maintained; for example, Latin and Sanskrit are prestige languages with high status, but they exist in religious texts and practices rather than as (arguably) spoken languages.

#### 4.3.2 Demographic Factors

Demographic factors are concerned with the sheer numbers of the language group and their distribution across the urban, regional or national territory. These numbers include the ability of the speakers to use their first (L1) and second languages (L2) in different domains of social interaction in various combinations; L1 only; both L1 and L2; either L1 or L2; and L2 only, etc. (Bourhis and Landry, 2008). They also refer to the community's absolute numbers such as birth and mortality rate, age, marriage traditions (endogamy or exogamy), and their e/immigration patterns.

Population size is considered to be the most important EV factor that contributes towards LM. Larger language populations have traditionally been able to maintain their language due to stronger networks of linguistic contact, as opposed to smaller language populations. Being a majority will enable strong regional hold in terms of political influence. However, there are studies to prove exceptions to this case. For example, Schiffman (2003) noted that Tamils constitute only 4% of the population of Singapore. In spite of the small size of the population, bilingual education has been introduced for the support of the language. It is debatable how this institutional support helps language maintenance (Schiffman, 2003), but it is interesting to note that sometimes even small populations are capable of exerting influence at a national level. The vitality of a language community can be high when the group is a majority in a regional territory and low when the group is spread thinly across territories. For example, the political power of the francophone community in Canada is higher in Quebec compared to the francophone communities in the other provinces (Bourhis, 1984; Johnson and Doucet, 2006, as cited in Bourhis and Landry, 2008).

Endogamy (marrying within the in-group) and exogamy (marrying out of the in-group) play an important role in assessing the vitality of minority languages. It is believed that while endogamy results in language maintenance, exogamy could lead to language shift because parents often use the dominant language of the immediate region to speak to and educate their children. This is especially true in Anglo-ethnic marriage situations (marriage between ethnic speakers and native English speakers in predominantly English-speaking countries such as the US, the UK and Australia). Research shows that language shift to English is rapid in such situations (Appel and Muyskin, 1987; Clyne, 2003, p.28).

'Ethnic endogamy ... determines the long-term viability of ethnic groups as social entities' (Stevens and Swicegood, 1987, p.80). In communities in which endogamy is a common practice, a slow or low rate of language shift is observed because the partners that are chosen are usually HL monolinguals coming from the source country; for example, Greek-Americans and Turkish immigrants in the US (Paulston, 1994) and members of Islamic

(Turkish and Lebanese) or Eastern Orthodox (Macedonian, Maltese and Greek) background in Australia (Clyne, 2003, p.28). From the research on the Indian diaspora in the US (Gupta, 1997; Safran et al., 2008) and Australia (Velayutham and Wise, 2005), caste endogamy seems to be a known practice in the Indian diaspora. However, there are no studies to show whether endogamy among the Indian community abroad is helping to maintain the languages.

In India, endogamy (particularly 'caste endogamy') is a common phenomenon and most marriages (approximately 90%) are arranged (Uberoi, 2000, p.148) by the family members or close relatives/acquaintances. Various aspects such as caste (sub-caste), *gotra* (lineage) (ibid., p.154), religion, area of residence, astrological compatibility, language and family background are considered for marital alliance (Audinarayana, 1990; De Fouw and Svoboda, 2000; Myers et al., 2005). In general, these aspects are considered even by the Telugu community both in India and abroad (Bhaskar and Bhat, 2007). However, Bhaskar and Bhat (2007) note that, as a result of the changes in the socio-economic scene due to education and socio-structural reformation, the classifications are seeing a decline (refer to FieldNotes, 2016, p.8, for examples of exogamy among the second-generation Telugus).

#### **4.3.3 Institutional Support Factors**

Institutional support variables are the extent to which a language group receives formal or informal representation in the various institutions of a nation, region or community. The vitality of a linguistic minority depends on whether the language is used in various functional institutions such as administration, education, religion and trade. This institutional support can be a result of policy planning or through the group's own institutions such as schools set up/funded by the community members (Gujarati, Bengali and Turkish language classes in Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester and London) (Blackledge et al., 2008; Creese and Blackledge, 2010). It also deals with the extent to which minority languages are supported through language planning in education.

Although it is very rare for the immigrant languages (other than the well-known modern languages such as French, Spanish, Italian and German) to receive institutional support from the host governments, there have been attempts to accommodate at least a few of them in schools (cf. Clyne, McKay, Peirce and Rampton et al. in the special edition on multilingualism in the *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 1997). In the UK, the Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP, 1983) was commissioned to determine the need for institutional support to the ethnic communities by the UK government, which led to the offering of at least a few minority languages in schools, such as Bangla and Panjabi where there are significant migrant populations. One of the often-quoted success stories



is of the official language status given to the French language by the Quebecois French-speaking community (though a widespread political stir-up did take place) (Bourhis and Landry, 2008).

#### *A Note on the Religious Domain*

It is interesting how many LMLS studies that have employed a DLU framework treat religion as a separate domain. This is appropriate when studying the communities that follow the organised religions, such as Islam, Judaism and Christianity, where, typically, a day of the week is allocated for the practitioners to visit the place of worship. It must be noted that most Telugu speakers living in London belong to the proto-Indian religion, which is usually labelled Hinduism (the other name is Sanatana Dharma (Eternal Way of Life)). Since this is not an organised religion, there is no organised worship mandated for the practitioners to attend on a regular basis. Although there are set rituals for the priests who conduct the Pooja (worship), attendance at the temples is usually on holidays, weekends or around festival times. So, when this question was presented to the participants of this study, most said that they go to temples very rarely. Usually, every home has a pooja mandir (allocated place of worship) in a small corner of a room where members of the family go to pray whenever they choose. There are no practices considered absolutely essential. However, the study does not claim that all Telugus in London are Hindus.

#### **4.3.4 Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Telugu in Different Settings**

Table 4.2 below shows the summary assessment of ethnolinguistic vitality in three settings: provincial (Andhra and Telangana); the overall diaspora (from observation of various secondary and informal sources) and the UK, but specifically the London setting. The first two are discussed briefly and the third in more detail.

##### *4.3.4.1 Telugu EV in the Provincial Setting*

Being the dominant language in AP and TLN, Telugus enjoys a high EV with a high *status*, *demographic* and *institutional support* factors. As the official language of the two states, a classical language and a scheduled language confirmed by the constitution of India (see Section 2.2), its status remains unthreatened at the moment. This is further strengthened by the quantum of the Telugu-speaking population in India (for a full review see Chapter 2). The Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) used by Ethnologue, assigns level 2 (label: provincial) to Telugu, which means that it is 'used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative subdivisions of a nation' (Lewis et al., 2015, Ethnologue).

In Chapter 2, the current discourse on fears of English replacing Telugu in education and other important domains and the need to rejuvenate Telugu use in people's lives was discussed. These fears are somewhat similar to those found by Ravindranath and Cohn (2014) concerning the Javanese language<sup>21</sup> (speaker strength = 80 million), which they claim to be on its way towards endangerment, despite the numbers. This is mainly due to the official policy of spreading the national language, Indonesian (also known as Bahasa Indonesia), which is actually a Malay variety. They (ibid.) conclude that, sometimes even numerically superior languages may be under threat. That said, at present, apart from the preference for English education, there appears to be no threat to the linguistic vitality of Telugu from a sociological (extra-linguistic) perspective, as there is no official policy to spread Hindi or English at the cost of other languages in India. Therefore, it can be said that the ethnolinguistic vitality of Telugu in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana is not low. However, since there are no studies on language change (linguistic perspective) and attitudinal factors (socio-psychological perspective) in the regional setting of AP and TLN, it is not possible to present a full sociolinguistic review of the situation of Telugu in AP and TLN.

#### *4.3.4.2 EV in the Diaspora Setting*

The economic status of the Telugus is high in white-collar and low in blue-collar settings. In the Global North, the Indian diaspora in general and the Telugu diaspora specifically usually (but not always) are white-collar workers, but are blue collared in regions such as the Middle East (cf. Brah, 2005; Bhaskar and Bhatt, 2003; 2007; Oonk, 2007; Cohen, 2008). In other old diaspora, such as Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, Telugus have either integrated into the mainstream or, in some cases, live on the margins of society (sources: TV9, 2013; Bonta, 2015; Tanim, 2009). Low social status was observed in South Africa, Mauritius and other regions (cf. Prabhakaran, 1991; 1997; Bissoonauth, 2011); however, there are no research studies available in the Global North to validate the exact socio-economic situation of the Telugus.

In other regions, the social history of the Telugus is tied with the Indian immigrants in general (Prabhakaran, 1991). Telugu emigration to western countries, particularly to the US, since the 1990s is noted as part of the *Brain Drain* of the highly skilled immigrants from India (Bhaskar and Bhatt, 2007). In Bangladesh, Telugus belong (predominantly) to the railway and postal worker community who were left behind after partition (ABN Telugu, 2016; Tanim, 2009). Telugus in Myanmar also belong to the old diaspora and are cut off from the source country (TV9, 2013).

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<sup>21</sup> It is mainly the high-variety Krama that was shown to be endangered rather than the low-variety Ngoko.

The language status of the Telugus is tied with the other Indian immigrant groups. In South Africa particularly, Mesthrie (1992) and Prabhakaran (1991; 1998) reported that the Telugus integrated (or in some cases assimilated) to the Tamil language and culture, which was one of the dominant Indian community languages among the indentured workers. This trend changed later in the 1960s, of course, as several generations settled in South Africa and English became the target language due to the perceived higher status. It is also important to note here that the South African Indian communities had very little support from India for their cultural, linguistic and educational sustenance as South Africa did not have a good relationship with India due to the practice of apartheid. Prabhakaran (1991; 1998) noted in her LMLS study that it was not until the early 1990s that the community could appoint a lecturer from India to teach Telugu at the university .

In terms of population, the Telugus are, in general, a sub-minority (Prabhakaran, 1991; 1997), meaning that they are secondary to other major Indian language groups. The distribution of Telugus is not very dense; however, Natal province in South Africa (old diaspora) has a significant Telugu presence along with other Indian communities (Prabhakaran, 1991; Mesthrie, 1992). In the US, Telugus are concentrated around regions such as New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Texas and California (Bhaskar and Bhatt, 2007). In Bangladesh, Myanmar and Sri Lanka, Telugus live as a cohesive community and seem to have maintained their own language varieties over several generations<sup>22</sup> (ABN Telugu, 2016; TV9, 2013; ABN Telugu, 2015).

When it comes to formal institutional support, Telugu is taught at a collegiate level in a limited manner in South Africa and the US (Prabhakaran, 1991; 1998 – this researcher was invited from India to take up the role of Telugu lecturer at the University of Durban-Westville). The cultural-association-managed Telugu language classes are offered to the Telugu children in various countries, including the US and the UK. There is no evidence of any of the AP or TLN governments offering assistance for Telugu learning in a diaspora setting. However, due to the advances in media reach, Telugus now have access to heritage language media online. In the informal domains, film releases, film-based cultural shows, and community-organised events around festivals and religious occasions are very frequent and often see enthusiastic participation – although this is true in most parts of the professional diasporas. In other minority settings such as Myanmar and Bangladesh, there are smaller community events celebrating the culture (ABN Telugu, 2016; TV9, 2013).

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<sup>22</sup> Based on the media interviews of the Telugus living in Myanmar and Sri Lanka (cf. TV9, 2013)

It may be summarised that Telugu vitality is low in the overall diaspora setting; although, in recent years, an increase in community-organised events (informal support) has been observed in countries such as South Africa and the US.

#### *4.3.4.3 Ethnolinguistic Vitality of the Telugu Community in London*

##### **Demographic Factors**

The size of the London Telugu community (LTC) is very small. The UK census data (Census, 2011) provided an estimate of 5,600 Telugu speakers in London, although this number cannot be considered accurate since it only takes into consideration those who reported their main language as Telugu. The ambiguity in the survey question could mean that one might tick the option 'English' regardless of which language one speaks with family members because English is the main language used in the UK, especially for those who work in offices. My interactions with the community associations have led me to come up with a conservative estimate of around 10,000 to 12,000 people of Telugu heritage living in the boroughs of London. This is still a very small population size compared to other immigrant groups living in London, particularly other South Asian groups such as Bangladeshi, Gujarati, Punjabi and Tamil. Most of the Telugu group members I met reside in East (Newham) and West London (Hounslow), which is consistent with the ONS data.

However, the distribution of Telugu members is not collective, with the exception of a few families. Apart from students and unmarried individuals, on average, a Telugu household consists of three to four members: a father, mother and one or two children. This is in direct contrast with the ONS report on attitudes towards family sizes (Penn and Lambert, 2002), which showed that Indians in Britain prefer larger families (two or more children). Another interesting observation is that, following the Indian family tradition, the India-born second generation who are over 18 years of age and unmarried, live with their parents. Even though endogamy is the most common practice, inter-ethnic (example: P32,<sup>23</sup> WAVE-1G2) as well as inter-ethnolinguistic (P9 and P27, WAVE-2G1<sup>24</sup>) marriages were also observed to some extent in both the first and second generations (also refer to page 8 of FieldNotes, 2016).

It was discussed in Chapter 2 that the early arrivals (Wave 1) came to Britain as highly skilled professionals to be employed in the NHS and engineering jobs and the later arrivals (the late 1990s to now) are mainly in IT-related jobs. In my interactions, I gathered that some came here as students and made use of the post-study work visas to find

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<sup>23</sup> Participant 32 (P32, male, 28 years old, doctor) was from Wave 2 second generation, married to a native English speaker.

<sup>24</sup> P9 (male, 60 years old, banker) married to a Tamil speaker, and P27 (male, 45 years old, senior management) married to a Gujarati speaker.

suitable jobs. However, the stricter immigration policies have cut short the flow of Telugu members in recent years. Most people I met to interview expressed that they have made the UK their home. Only a few said that they may return and some were undecided.

In summary, the smaller demographic size and a predominantly scattered settlement pattern make it difficult for the group to be recognised as an active collective both by the in-group and by the out-group. I say out-group as well because, from my interaction with the native British people, I gathered that not many are aware of a Telugu community in Britain. In several interactions, I was told that they were aware of the Tamil group because of the asylum discourse in the past. Added to this, a shortage of inflow from the source country will see the number of the first-generation Telugus decline slowly, but this may change if favourable immigration policies are implemented in the future.

### **Status Factors**

#### **Economic and Social Status**

It has been said that the Telugu people living in the UK or any of the western countries are economically well sustained (Bhat and Bhaskar, 2007). This is because most of the Telugus fall under the category of the professional diaspora, meaning they take up highly skilled professions (Cohen, 2008). Having said that, it is not possible to generalise that all Telugus in the UK are economically stable as this study only covered 109 participants.

#### **Language Status**

India has several languages and the most notable Indian language outside of India is probably Hindi because of its status as an official language and the fame of Bollywood. In the UK, Gujarati, Panjabi and Tamil are the frequently mentioned Indian ethnolinguistic groups in the media and academic discourse. It has been mentioned above that the recognition of the Telugu community is either overshadowed by other Indian communities or attributed a larger *Indian language* identity. This is why the term *sub-minority* is used to describe languages like Telugu (Prabhakaran, 1998). Given this kind of recognition, it is hard to say that Telugu has any social status in the UK. Additionally, it was explained in Chapter 2 that Telugu is neither an international language like English, French or Spanish, nor a functionally vital language outside the regions of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana.

This dearth in recognition for Telugu comes up as a topic for discussion every now and then at various community events and conferences. In September 2014, the Vanguri Foundation of America and the United Kingdom Telugu Association jointly held the fourth World Telugu Conference in London. In an email communication, the founding member expressed the following as one of the objectives of this conference:

To determine the collective course of action in order to gain recognition for Telugu language and literature at a university level. To discuss the government policies and draw

plans towards this end. For example, Tamil, Gujarati etc. are not only being taught in the University of London (SOAS) but also being researched upon. Similarly, is it not appropriate to establish a Telugu department as well?

The functional importance of Telugu in India, as mentioned in chapter 2, is concentrated in the Telugu-speaking regions. It was also shown that, for higher technical education, English is the preferred medium of instruction. In summation of the language status, evidence suggests that the status of Telugu is low, meaning that it is not readily identified as a major Indian language but often attributed a collective identity as an Indian language community.

#### Institutional Factors

There are no Telugu learning programmes in any schools in the UK. The only evidence of Telugu ever being taught in a UK university was in the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century as part of preparing personnel to serve in the erstwhile British Empire (Alladina, 1993). At present, although Cambridge International Exams (CIE) developed a curriculum for Telugu at A-level, upon further enquiry it has been revealed that no one in the UK has opted for it. This is probably because the syllabus covers an advanced level of Telugu language and literature and there is no institutional set up to cater to at that level. Interestingly, this was developed by CIE at the request of the government of Mauritius, which is available for anyone across the globe (based on email communication with CIE).

#### Opportunities to Learn Telugu

In London, the Telugu Association of London (TAL) runs two weekend schools, one in Hounslow Central and another in Eastham, and provides free Telugu lessons. The curriculum uses Telugu primers from the state board of education of the EWAP. Teaching is done more as a service than as employment. Some members of the association reported that the parents' interest in sending their children to these schools is gradually increasing. However, many such Telugu associations pay more attention to the traditional art forms such as music and dance and, generally, there is more active participation in these lessons than in Telugu language classes. Figure 4.2 is a snapshot from the TAL website, showing the lessons offered. The base text reads: *Telugu is great among the languages of the country (India); teach Telugu language and conserve our culture.*

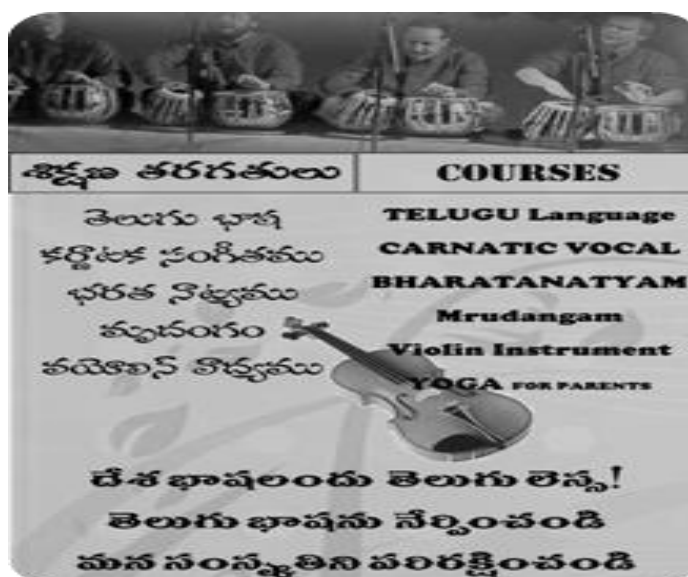


Fig. 4.2: Web poster announcing Telugu cultural classes in London

### Language in Religion

It is not evident that Telugu is used in religion because there are no dedicated temples managed by the LTC.<sup>25</sup> There are events organised around religious festivals in which Telugu language programmes are conducted. However, they cannot be considered rituals that require Telugu language usage. With the exception of *Bathukamma*<sup>26</sup> and Telugu church activities, most of the Hindu rituals are conducted in Sanskrit.

There are several Telugu church congregations that take place in London; however, at this point, there are no dedicated church buildings for them. Some of the well-attended congregations are the UK Telugu Association for Christians (UKTAC) in Eastham for all Christian denominations, Bethel Ministries of Telugu Church (BMTC) in Barking and the Zion Christian Fellowship in Ilford. My interactions with the Telugu Christian community revealed that there is considerable use of Telugu in the sermons and in the choir. In fact, the song books distributed contain Telugu songs, and they also have an active church band and choir that sing Telugu Christian music (see Appendix 3 for a sample of the Telugu song/prayer book).

### The Role of Telugu Associations

Telugu culture is maintained by the community through various cultural and literary events. Most notable events of the Telugu community, both in London and the UK, are the celebrations of Hindu festivals such as Ugadi (Telugu new year), Sankranti (the winter harvest festival), Ganesh Chaturthi, Dasara or Bathukamma (in the Telangana culture)

<sup>25</sup> On a side note, the Lord Balaji Temple in Dudley near Birmingham is managed by Telugus and Tamils.

<sup>26</sup> Bathukamma is a popular festival in the Telangana state and is celebrated as Dasara, which is one of the major Indian festivals.

and Diwali. For Christians, there are monthly or quarterly events, which are organised by various associations, as well as the Christmas celebration organised by all associations regardless of their religious affiliation. Similarly, some Telugu associations organise *iftar* (breaking of fast) during the Ramzan month for the Telugu/Indian Muslim community. Other notable events in recent years have included the World Telugu Conference in 2012 and the fourth World Telugu Literary Fest in 2014. These events usually have Telugu scholars, politicians and celebrities coming from India to interact with Telugus in the UK and to talk to them about the importance of language maintenance in both usage as well as literature (see Appendix 2).

The role as well as the number of the Telugu associations has increased in recent years. Prior to 2000, there were very few Telugu cultural groups and those were started by the first wave. Due to their smaller number, the events organised were rare. Added to that, they were mainly professional associations such as Andhra Medical Graduates (AMG) and Osmania Medical Graduates Association (OMeGA), who organised events to reunite and celebrate their culture. Since the 1970s up to the late 1990s, the coming together of the community was at the level of family or close friends only. Since the 2000s, but mainly after 2005, there has been visible interest in organising Telugu events for the larger community. Apart from celebrating festivals, there are other events such as venerating the late Professor C. P. Brown, an Englishman highly respected by the Telugu community, felicitating Telugus with lifetime achievement awards, and so on. There has surely been a resurgence of interest in the Telugu language and culture, which in part is due to the increase in the population size, technological advancement and financial capability (see also Section 7.2).

### Telugu Media

The Telugu media in London is still in its nascent stage. *Telugu vāni*, a radio for the Telugus in Europe, has been running successfully with over 10,000 listeners mostly from the UK. However, the owner of the station expressed that it has not been a profit-making venture and is run as a charity. It regularly broadcasts popular Telugu songs and has interviews with prominent actors and politicians from AP and Telangana.

It is only since 2012, that the Telugu TV programmes are being offered through TV packages (for example, Lebara Play). The internet is the main source of staying in touch with all things Telugu, but especially films and songs. Participants in this study cited websites such as *errabussu.com* and *edlabandi.com*<sup>27</sup> as some of the favourites in the UK

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<sup>27</sup> These are cultural terms for Telugus – *errabussu* literally means ‘red bus’, which was the colour of government-run buses connecting villages. Therefore, if someone says he just got down from a red bus, it means that the person is a villager or, more pejoratively, a savage. *Edlabandi* means a bullock cart, which is also a symbol of village life, but may not have a pejorative connotation.



for political and entertainment news. The field work has revealed that there is no Telugu print media in London, although a Manchester based Telugu magazine, by the name Telugu One is published monthly. Telugus are fond and proud of their film industry. This comes through even among the younger second generation. In recent years, some very high budget Telugu films have seen direct release (at the same time as in India) in London. There is also a budding interest in making London-based Telugu films. *Thames theeramlo Telugammai* (Telugu Girl on the Shores of the Thames) is one such film.

In summary, it may be said that the EV of Telugu in London is low with respect to status, demographic and formal institutional support factors. However, the community appears to be organised in maintaining its cultural and linguistic identity, even more so in recent years.

EV factors		Provincial setting (AP and TLN)	Diaspora (outside India)	UK/London Telugu community)
Status	<b>Economic</b>	Dominant	Professional: high in white-collar and low in blue-collar settings. Global North usually white collared but blue collared in regions such as the Middle East. Also includes students in the Global North countries (cf. Bhaskar and Bhat, 2007). In other old diaspora such as Myanmar, Srilanka and Bangladesh, Telugus may be considered as living below the poverty line (ABN, 2015; 2016; TV9, 2013; Bonta, 2015; Tanim, 2009)	Mainly professionals (predominantly, medical professionals in Wave 1 and IT professionals in Wave 2) and students. However, there is evidence for an old diaspora, low-skilled migrant presence in Preston in its third generation. In London, Telugus have been observed to be financially better placed (source: fieldwork)
	<b>Social</b>	Dominant	Low status observed in South Africa and Mauritius (cf. Prabhakaran, 1991; 1997; 1998; Bissoonauth, 2011). No studies available on Global North Telugu diaspora	No significant presence in the UK, so current social status cannot be ascertained. However, early settlers are well integrated and there are a few individuals with notable socio-political roles (councillors, party workers, OBEs, etc.) - although they are more notable as British-Asians than persons of Telugu origin (source: field interactions and association magazines, for example, <i>Ma Telugu</i> (TALUK, 2011))
	<b>Socio-historicity</b>	Strong	No notable social history documented yet; however, work-in-progress on the ancient Sri Lankan Telugu community (Bonta, 2015). In other regions, the social history of the Telugus is tied with the Indian immigrants in general (Prabhakaran, 1991). Telugu emigration to the US since the 1990s is noted as part of the Brain Drain of the highly skilled immigrants from India (Bhaskar and Bhatt, 2007).	No comprehensive social history available and there is no evidence of Telugus facing any kind of discrimination or oppression due to their language and culture. However, Wave 1 medical professionals had no choice but to work in areas they were assigned, meaning that they could not choose their location of work (Simpson and Ramsay, 2011). This in a way may have contributed to their

			In Bangladesh, Telugu groups belong to the railway workers who were left behind after partition (source: a blog by Tanim (2009)). Telugus in Myanmar also belong to the old diaspora and are cut off from the source country (TV9, 2013)	dispersed settlements, with fewer opportunities to maintain their language and culture (see Chapters 6 and 7 for analysis and discussion)
	<b>Language</b>	Used and sustained by institutions beyond the home and community (EGIDS – rating 2 in provincial setting), official and classical language status, including being one of the 22 scheduled languages of India	Tied with the other Indian immigrant groups. In South Africa, especially with the Tamil group where, initially, there was assimilation to the Tamil group (for being the dominant Dravidian sub-minority) and later to English (for its high status) (Prabhakaran, 1991)	No special status is assigned to Telugu. It did not feature in the census before 2011, as the practice was to club the South Asian-Indian language speakers into one category. No provisions to offer Telugu as a heritage, modern or foreign language exist, although A-level Telugu programmes are available for universities in other countries (source: ONS census 2011; email communication with Cambridge International Exams)
<b>Demographic</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	Dominant majority	In general, a sub-minority (Prabhakaran, 1991; 1997), meaning secondary to other major Indian language groups	A sub-minority – UK population of about 15,000, of which about 6,000 are in London according to the main language survey, but the numbers could be much more. Still quite small compared to other Indian communities such as the Gujaratis and Panjabis
	<b>Distribution</b>	Not applicable as the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh was actually carved out as a linguistic region	Natal province in South Africa (old diaspora) (Prabhakaran, 1991; Mesthrie, 1992); in the US, concentrated around regions like New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Texas and California (Bhaskar and Bhatt, 2007). We do not have a clear picture of the settlement patterns in the other old diaspora, although the news reports on	In the UK, majorly in London (East and West in particular), but also in Reading, Milton Keynes, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Leicester, Preston, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Belfast (based on the presence of Telugu cultural associations in these places). However, the distribution is not that of a cohesive settlement like the

			the Telugu community show cohesive settlements (and to some extent, slum dwellings) in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka (ABN, 2015; 2016). However, this cannot be generalised as true for the whole Telugu community as there are no research studies published yet	Banglas in Spitalfields (Rasigner, 2007; 2013) or in Leeds (Hamid, 2011) or Panjabis (Indian and Pakistani) in Southhall (Sharma, 2011)
Institutional Support	<b>Formal</b>	Used in education, government and media extensively, although English also has a stable role to play	Taught at a collegiate level in a limited manner in South Africa and the US (newly in Berkeley, California). Cultural associations are running Telugu language classes. No use in government. However, due to the advances in media reach, Telugus now have access to HL media online	No formal institutional support but access to media is possible these days due to modern communication media. Also, community-run schools: two in London and one in Reading (from field observations)
	<b>Informal</b>	Religion – not used in rituals but extensively used in discourse (both Hindu and Christian); culture and politics are language orientated as it is a linguistic region	Film releases, film-based cultural shows and community-organised events around festivals and religious events are very frequent and see enthusiastic participation – this is the case only in the professional diasporas, although in minority settings such as Myanmar and Bangladesh, there are smaller community events celebrating their culture	Same as in the general diaspora. However, a noticeable improvement in the number and scale of community organised events has taken place in the last decade. This was mainly due to the overall increase in the Indian (thus Telugu) diaspora presence, pride in Indian identity, increase in communication between source and host destinations and economic stability of the individuals in the community (see discussion in Section 7.1.2)
<b>Overall EV based on Objective factors</b>		<b>High</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Low</b>

Table 4.1: A snapshot ethnolinguistic vitality of Telugu in different settings (regional, global and UK)

#### **4.4 Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality (SEV)**

Ethnolinguistic vitality, as discussed above, takes into account the objective factors. Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981) proposed the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire (SEVQ) in order to measure the group members' subjective vitality perceptions about their own group in relation to the dominant out-group. This questionnaire was proposed as an aid to be used in combination with objective vitality assessment.

This combination could be valuable in either predicting or evaluating the likelihood of ethnic minorities surviving as distinctive cultural and/or political entities in majority situations. According to Bourhis et al. (1981), while objective assessment could offer an accurate picture of a minority's current position with the help of status, demographic and institutional factors, it may not be able to foresee situations such as a group's efforts to mobilise an ethnic revival phase. Whereas, an SEV assessment may be able to do exactly that, thus enabling a balance between the current reality and the foreseeable future.

EV theory has inspired a great number of research studies in sociolinguistics in recent years (for example, Rasinger, 2005; 2010; 2012; Yagmur, 2011; Karan, 2011). However, as discussed above, objective vitality measurement offers a macro perspective that may not be a sufficient predictor of a group's language maintenance or shift. At the same time, subjective assessment of the group members' perspective in relation to the out-group may also not be an accurate predictor of LM and LS. As Yagmur (2011) noted, although the Turkish-speaking group's vitality has been low compared to the out-group's vitality, there has been a better practice of language maintenance in the Turkish diaspora.

In support of EVT, it has to be noted that, if a group is assessed as having low EV but high SEV as reported by its members, it may be in the process of increasing efforts to maintain the language. If a group's SEV is lower than its EV measures, then language shift may be underway due to linguistic and cultural assimilation to the dominant group (Hamid, 2011). In his study on second-generation Bangla speakers in London, Rasinger (2012, p.12) noted that, 'despite factors which would predict high EV, respondents' perception of EV is actually rather low. This in part reinforces the process of linguistic shift away from the heritage language'.

SEV in itself is not a sufficient indicator of a group's LMLS trend. EV perceptions of the group members are influenced by other social psychological factors as well. These socio-psychological factors such as strong and weak association with the ethnic group by its own speakers (hot and cold ethnicities), trust factor as well as racial, ethnic and linguistic perceptions between the in-group and the out-group members (inter-ethnic discordance

and intergroup distance), level of respect for traditions and career ambitions (traditionalism and utilitarianism) play an important role in EV perceptions (Ehala, 2010a; 2010b; Ehala and Zabrodskja, 2011).

The perceived benefit model of language stability and shift (Karan, 2011) tries to explain the motivations behind the language choice, usage or its loss from an individual perspective. The model looks at shift and stability from both a macro societal and a micro societal level. Based on the EV model (Giles et al., 1977) and Bourdieu's (1991) *symbolic capital*, Karan (2011) identifies six motivations for language choice decisions that could lead to language shift in an immigrant context. The six motivations are: communicative, economic, social identity, language power and prestige, nationalistic and political, and religious. Karan (2011) proposed that 'individuals select from their linguistic repertoire the language variety or varieties (languages) that will best serve their interests, in particular speech environments or domains' (p.139).

Despite some of the gaps discussed in this review, none of the models discount the validity of EVT in measuring the group vitality and predicting LM and LS. EVT continues to be a valid tool in LMLS studies and will play an important role in the assessment of Telugu speakers in London.

#### **4.5 Language and Identity**

Attempting to define identity from a positivist viewpoint may be a difficult effort because, as explained in this chapter introduction, the concept is circumstantial and therefore subject to change. Identity cannot be defined from an objective standpoint alone and must take the subjective reality of individuals and groups into consideration. This subjective reality is what is known as symbolic realism, introduced into social sciences as a counter to positivism (Schumann, 1986).

Symbolic realism [...] maintains that reality can never be known directly and in its totality' (ibid. p. 52).

This shifting reality of the physical and sociological world has gained acceptance not just in the arts and social sciences but due to the advent of quantum, in physical sciences as well (ibid.). This has paved way for subjectivity (which the humanities have long been accused of) to gain validity even in academic and scientific research.

##### **4.5.1 Identity as a Variable Concept**

My first ambition is the glory of mother India. I know it in my heart of hearts that I am an Indian first and an Indian last. But when you say I am Bihari, I say I am an Oriya. When you say you are a Bengali, I say I am an Oriya. Otherwise I am an Indian.

Words of an Indian politician (anon., cited in Tambiah, 1967, p.215).

In the words of Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2007, p.55) ‘... identity is a multilayered, often purposive, construct in which language plays one part’. Many ethnic groups of the world are identified by the languages they speak – such as German, Polish, English, Tamilian and Panjabi, to name a few. However, these labels do not always guarantee proficiency or affiliation to their languages. These labels could be cultural, ethnic or even political, as much as they are linguistic. For example, *English* could mean people who live in England (geographical identity), who practice English customs (socio-cultural identity), who are not Scottish or Irish (distinct national identity and, to some extent, albeit arguably, ethnic identity) and whose native language is English (linguistic identity).

From Bourdieu’s (1991, p.37) perspective, language is ‘an instrument of action and power’ and it acts as a certain social capital that enables its speakers to achieve their personal ends. A multilingual person who is proficient in their HL and the DL in a host country may choose to use these languages as well as the identities that come with them, based on the interactions they would have with the members of the society. Therefore, the aspect of identity is, by and large, a subjective creation based on one’s affinity towards a particular group.

#### **4.5.2 Language as a Core Value**

Those values that are regarded as forming the most fundamental components or heartland of a group’s culture, and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership (Smolicz and Secombe, 1985, p.11).

Aspects of culture that are fundamental to a group’s continued viability and integrity can be regarded as the pivots around which the whole social and identification system of the group is organised. If these pivots are removed, through enforced ‘modernisation’ or assimilation to the dominant group, this will result in the entire edifice crumbling. This is called a ‘fragmentalised’ or ‘residualised’ culture (Smolicz et al., 1990, p.130). These pivots are called core values.

Cultural groups differ in the extent to which they emphasise their mother tongue as one of the core values (Smolicz, 1981; Smolicz et al., 2001). For some cultures, such as Italian, Irish and Jewish communities across the world, the ability (or inability) to speak Italian, Irish Gaelic and Hebrew (or Yiddish) may not constitute a staunch mark of identity. They regard other core values such as family cohesion or religion over language. (It should be noted that in the state of Israel, the Hebrew language serves as a strong core value associated with both secularity and religiosity) (Smolicz et al., 1990). At the same time, there are other cultures that emphasise their language as perhaps the most important identity marker; for example, the Polish, Greek and Chinese (Clyne, 2003). They are language-centred cultures and for them their survival depends on the preservation of their native language.

In the case of Indian students in Australia (Smolicz et al., 1990), high levels of activation and evaluation of ethnic language were associated with the practice of Hindu. They were aware that English was the language of social acceptance and economic advancement. For later arrivals, their knowledge (level of proficiency) of English and professional qualification mattered for their entry into the country. In their study, Smolicz et al. (1990) noted that the Indian students showed little regret in losing their native linguistic abilities. Similar findings have been reported in the UK regarding language as a Bengali/Bangladeshi identity in Bengali schools, where teachers felt that language is a symbol of heritage but students were inclined towards their language as a creative skill rather than a symbol of heritage (Blackledge et al., 2008). However, one cannot conclude cultural identities based on studies about younger participants because it is not only that identity is variable, but it also varies much more among the youth as they go through life – from being rebellious teenagers to becoming adults (Coulmas, 2013).

It is argued that the languages that are culturally and syntactically distant (e.g. Greek in Australia) to the dominant language are less susceptible to language shift when they come into contact than the languages that are culturally similar; for example, German and Dutch (Clyne, 1992 (Australian context)). However, Italians who are culturally and linguistically closer (European) exhibit different behaviours in different contexts; for Italian Americans, language may not be their core identity, and for Italians in Australia, LS is noted to be lower than for Germans, the Dutch or even Maltese (totally unrelated language to English) (Clyne, 1992).

Table 4.2 below shows how some communities view their languages as a symbol of their identity. For other groups, language is not an essential factor to attain a group membership. For example, in her study of the Puerto Rican families in New York, Zentella (1997) found that, while many of them shift to English by the third generation, they still claim to have their Puerto Rican or Latino identity intact, thus showing that fluency in Spanish is not an essential factor of identity. Similarly, Khemlani-David (1998) found that the Sindhis (one of the merchant communities in the Indian sub-continent) in Malaysia maintain their identity through participation in trade than through speaking Sindhi. Yagmur (2011), however, claims that language maintenance in the Turkish diaspora has a lot to do with the language being regarded as the core value of Turkish culture.



Community	Location	Language	Language is core ID – Yes/No	Other core ID
Hasidic Jews in New York (Fishman, 2006)	New York	Yiddish	Yes	Religion
Polish (Smolicz, 1981)	Australia	Polish	Yes	Not discussed
Turkish (Yagmur, 2011)	Germany	Turkish	Yes	Religion, but also ethnicity
Puerto Ricans (Zentella, 1997)	New York	Spanish	No	Spanish culture
Egyptian immigrants in Greece (Gogonas, 2012)	Greece	Arabic	Yes – if Muslim No – if Coptic	Religion for Muslims
Sindhis (Khemlani-David, 1998)	Malaysia	Sindhi	No	Trade and commerce
Sri Lankan Tamils (Canagarajah, 2008; 2013)	London	Tamil	Yes for Gen-1 (for G2 only partially)	Culture/literature
Telugus (Prabhakaran, 1991; 1997; 1998)	South Africa	Telugu	Yes	Culture/festivals/food/religion

Table 4.2: Language as core value of different communities

#### 4.5.2.1 Acculturation

Acculturation is an important aspect of sociolinguistic, second-language acquisition (SLA) and sociological studies. From an SLA perspective, Schumann (1986, p.379) defined acculturation as 'social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language group'. He (ibid.) listed three integration strategies: assimilation, adaptation and preservation. *Assimilation* is when one group gives up its cultural aspects completely and becomes like the dominant out-group. *Adaptation* is when it retains some of its group's characteristics and also adopts some from the out-group. *Preservation* is when a group rejects the out-group's values and maintains its own.

Although this was formulated for SLA studies, it remains valid for the sociological studies as well. Berry (1987, cited in Berry, 1997) also came up with a similar model, adding one more distinction. He categorised acculturation into *assimilation* (to give up one's culture to be more like the dominant group), *separation* (maintaining one's culture and avoiding the others), *integration* (maintaining both) and *marginalisation* (unable to maintain either). The favourable condition for integration, Berry (1997, p.10) observed, is that it can be pursued

only when 'the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity'.

Krishnan and Berry (1992, p.187) found of Indian immigrants in the US that '(T)he most preferred acculturation attitude was found to be one of Integration'. Gibson's (1988) finding of the Panjabi Sikh community in Valleyside (a fictitious name), which was primarily 'accommodation without assimilation', also supports what Krishnan and Berry (1992) stated about the Indian community. However, it was mentioned earlier that the Indians in western societies shift to English within the second or third generation. Canagarajah (2013) explained that the second-generation Tamils are not proficient speakers of their heritage language. They maintain their identity using other strategies, such as translanguaging (switching, emblematic use, borrowing, etc.) to suit their communicative needs. Different social, linguistic and ethnic groups acculturate differently to the dominant society. Such behaviours of acculturation can be at various levels, such as language, food, dress, values, behaviours, etc., and change over time as it is a multidimensional and dynamic process (Organista et al., 2010).

Acculturation strategies should be seen in the light of ethnolinguistic vitality and other theories such as *core value*, explained above. When members of community give up their language they may not give up their way of life (for example, Kannadigas in New York (Sridhar, 1988)), and as Smolicz explains, this depends on whether or not they view their language as a core value.

#### 4.5.2.2 Linguistic Accommodation and Politeness

Communication accommodation theory, based on Tajfel's theory of intergroup relations, was first proposed by Giles et al. (1973) as a socio-psychological dimension in the study of sociolinguistics. It is an exhaustive theory, which inspired much research in the field and is constantly being updated in the light of new evidence (cf. Sachdev, Giles and Pauwels, 2013, p.392). This short description is very selective and only relevant to the point of understanding attitudes towards accommodating others in the current study. It does not deal with the linguistic aspects of accommodation.

One of the postulates of communication accommodation theory (Giles et al., 1973) is that individuals adjust their language/speech based on their needs. According to this theory, in intergroup and intragroup interactions, people of different ages, statuses, backgrounds, sexes, ethnicities, etc. negotiate their personal and social identities by adjusting their speech styles, body language, etc. This they do either to decrease (converge) maintain or increase (diverge) their social distance, meaning to separate themselves or relate to their speakers in terms of identity (ibid.).

In a dominant-subordinate (for example, boss-worker) context, an upward convergence is possible, i.e. a worker adjusting his language to that of his boss. Sachdev et al. (2013) noted that, in an immigrant situation, such upward convergence is seen as an indication of acculturation to the dominant culture on the part of the migrant. Accommodation is sometimes based on cooperation and not always a powerplay. Coulmas (2013, p.180) illustrated an example in a Dutch science conference setting, where English invades the territory of Dutch. However, this accommodation is a result of 'opting for the lingua franca of the international domain of science' and 'such domains are most susceptible to the forces of globalisation'. The result may be of maintenance (to speak in Dutch) if it is a Dutch cultural setting and there are speakers of other languages. Convergence usually receives a positive evaluation as it evinces characteristics such as adaptation or integration (see section above) and may lead to societal acceptance (Giles et al., 1973).

Convergence to the dominant or common language can sometimes be a strategy to avoid conflict, especially in a minority-dominant language setting. Brown and Levinson's (1987) distinction of positive politeness (frank and sincere) and negative politeness (modesty and conflict avoidance) is particularly useful to understand the relationship between accommodation, politeness and language shift. Sometimes, negative politeness, and thereby convergence, could lead to the parents (or community members) not using their heritage language in the presence of monolingual English speakers. If such practices limit input in the HL, this may also cause an impression of linguistic inferiority and possibly language shift.

#### **4.6 Summary of Literature Review**

Language shift is what Fishman (1991, p.381) called a 'minus'<sup>28</sup> aspect of sociolinguistics, i.e. it is about the loss of linguistic skills among the speakers of any given language. Language shift can be both at a community as well as an individual level (macro and micro perspectives). There are several motivations behind leaving one language and taking up another. Language shift can only take place in a language contact situation and languages are said to be in contact if the same persons use two or more of them alternately (Weinreich, 1953).

Cross-generational studies in immigrant language shift reveal that the most popular pattern for language shift completion occurs over three generations: heritage language (HL) monolingualism in the first generation, dominant language (DL) and HL bilingualism with the second and DL monolingualism in the third generation. However, based on socio-cultural and religious associations (Kloss, 1966; Smolicz, 1981; 1990), LS may take place

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<sup>28</sup> According to Fishman (1991), language attrition, loss, shift, death and endangerment are on the minus side of the sociolinguistics ledger, while language revival, restoration, revitalisation, restabilisation and reconstruction are on the plus side.

faster, for example, within two generations among German and Dutch immigrants in Australia (Clyne, 2003) or slower, for example, over three generations in Greek-Americans (Kloss, 1966).

It should be noted that first-generation immigrants may not always be HL monolinguals. Depending on the migration regulation of the host countries, they may have to arrive with some competence in the DL (Vertovec, 2007; Sridhar 1988). The speakers may also be HL-DL bilinguals, in which case LS may be faster or slower depending on their pre-immigration experience of maintaining their languages in multilingual settings (Kloss, 1966). There is no conclusive evidence to show that being HL monolingual in the first generation will delay the shift beyond the first generation (Canagarajah, 2008).

Fishman's (1991; 2001) views about language shift are to stop it from happening because language has an emotional meaning to its speakers in most cultures. Fishman, who subscribes to this thought process of maintaining the heritage language and reversing the shift, would perhaps agree that there are more opportunities for people to shift to the dominant language than to ensure HL maintenance. Paulston (1994, p.12) stated that 'maintained group bilingualism' is unusual when there are so many incentives around unless, 'as with India's former caste system and ascribed status, the result is language maintenance'. If assimilation with the dominant culture is what the individual aims for, then language is one of the most visible targets to achieve.

The case studies in Chapter 3 show that language shift is imminent among all the Dravidian-speaking immigrants in their respective English-speaking countries. While institutional support (Giles et al., 1977) is essential for the maintenance of the language and culture, none of these studies claim that they are as important as using the language in the home domain. Based on the findings of these studies, a *mid to weak language maintenance* (Fernandez and Clyne, 2007) seems to be the dominant trend for the Indian language communities living abroad. Socio-economic reasons seem to dictate the heritage language maintenance in all three Dravidian case studies. There is no evidence to suggest that caste plays any role in language/dialect maintenance as it is claimed to do in India (Sridhar, 1988; 1993). Religion, on the other hand, seems to play some role, but it is not entirely clear if that is to do with the religion itself or the social network structures of the individuals. The cultural factors such as festivals and other community activities are bringing the communities closer, but the busy lifestyles of the people only make them occasional events.

## **Chapter 5: Methodological Review**

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the overall methodology of the study. It is divided into three sections. Section 5.1 deals with the hypothesis and research questions, the

research design, and the theoretical and methodological framework. In Section 5.2, the components of the fieldwork, such as participant eligibility and recruitment, are discussed, as well as the field worker's background. In the same section, the methodological tools used for the study such as the questionnaire and interview design, sampling procedures and software and hardware tools used for data collection and analysis are described. In Section 5.3, the sample of the study is explained in detail. In the final section (5.4), the statistical analysis tools used in the study and the rationale behind their use is explained.

## **5.1 Research Design**

Wei (1994) observed that a macro-societal approach allows the study of the data gathered at a community level and language attitudes and behaviours of a large number of people to be reported. It is a common practice in the field of sociology of language and sociolinguistics to make use of macro data such as census and national, international or community-level linguistic data to report LMLS patterns of specific linguistic communities or evaluate the nation's policy towards minority languages in general. For example, Veltman (1983), by using the census data from the US, was able to analyse the language shift patterns of the immigrant groups such as the Spanish and Korean communities in the US and the reasons behind such shift. Similarly, Clyne (2003) employed the Australian linguistic census data to analyse the language maintenance aspects of some European groups (German, Dutch, Italian, Polish, Croatian and Greek speakers) as well as some Asian groups (Mandarin and Cantonese speakers). In most developed countries, such data is readily available for analysis.

In the UK, the interest in minority language groups has gained momentum since the linguistic minority project report (LMP, 1983) was published. In their seminal work on multilingualism in the British Isles (Volume 2: Africa, the Middle East and Asia), Alladina and Edwards (1991) provided a valuable review of the sociolinguistic situation, the nature and distribution of the communities, issues of language change and shift, the roles of the communities' members and education in maintaining languages.

Relying on the macro-societal linguistic data only reveals the broad picture of the maintenance efforts (Sebba, 1992). In the case of smaller linguistic minorities or sub-minorities such as Telugu in Britain, such data is either not available or inaccurate. In their study of bilingualism in South Asia, Bhatia and Ritchie (2013) concur that the definition of the mother tongue is often ambiguous and the reporting is based on the respondents' understanding of the term. In the same vein, the main language data (ONS Census, 2011) does not accurately predict the number of Telugus in England and Wales, or in London (as acknowledged by the Census Office). This is because those whose heritage language is Telugu but whose main language of everyday communication is English (or any other language) may not report Telugu as their main language at all. Due to these challenges

with respect to the accuracy and availability of large-scale data in the UK, a macro-societal approach to the study of Telugu language maintenance remains unfeasible.

In contrast, a micro-societal approach takes into account community-specific linguistic practices observed in selected participant groups. In a multicultural and multilingual society such as Britain, LMLS studies on different language communities have made significant contributions to the field of sociology of language and sociolinguistics. Some examples include Wei's (1994) study of language shift among three generations of the Chinese community, and Canagarajah's (2008) study of attitudes of the Sri Lankan Tamil community in London. Language shift and maintenance of the Sylheti-Bangladeshi community in Leeds and York was studied by Hamid (2011) and Rasinger (2007; 2012) studied the Bangladeshi community in the London borough of Tower Hamlets from a second language acquisition of English and linguistic vitality perspectives. These studies recruited a feasible group of participants and employed specific theoretical frameworks to measure the effectiveness of the maintenance efforts of the community.

The research design chosen for this study is cross-sectional. This means that the data is collected at one given point in time and the findings are reported as true for that period. Cross-sectional design is different from a longitudinal design, which is used to study the changes in linguistic behaviour of a small group over a period of time (Rasinger, 2013). Since this is not a study of linguistic variation, the objective is to provide a 'snapshot of a status quo' (ibid, p.36) of the maintenance of the Telugu language by the first- and second-generation settlers in London. This design is popular in linguistic and sociological research because it provides an overview of how the linguistic variables or attitudes towards a language are distributed across the sample with the help of large amounts of data.

### **5.1.1 The Methodological Framework of the Study**

There are two main theories used in this study: one is the domain language use by Fishman (1965) and the other is (objective and subjective) ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) theory by Giles et al. (1977) and Bourhis et al. (1981).

Fishman's (1965, p.67) domains, functions and role-relationships for language use is one of the theoretical frameworks used in this study. Domains, functions and role-relations can broadly be categorised as informal and formal. Situations of language use at home, friendship network, shopping, etc. may be in the informal domain and language use at government establishments, schools, banks, etc. in the formal domain (Rasinger 2005). Language use with the interlocutors was sought from the interviewed participants.

Ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) theory (Giles et al., 1977; Bourhis et al., 1981) has been a 'valuable heuristic' (McEntee-Atalianis, 2011, p.151) in language maintenance studies and

has directed many researchers in the field, especially heritage language as the minority setting (Rasinger, 2007; 2010; Yagmur, 2011). Its ability to evaluate the objective factors such as status, demographic and institutional factors in relation with the subjective factors such as the group members' attitudes towards their heritage language and the dominant language has been proven useful in the field of sociology of language (Hamid, 2005). In this study, a section of the survey is dedicated to measuring the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV) factors of the participant group. The questions related to language use in governments, administration and religion proved to be irrelevant for the Telugu community and are, therefore, not used in the survey. However, language use in religion, as discussed by some participants, is presented in the interview analysis and objective EV factors discussed in Chapter 4.

In addition to these two, social network theory (SNT) (Milroy, 1987) has also been employed, but in combination with domain language analysis. SNT is a very valuable tool to measure language variation (Wei, 1994), because it allows for a detailed analysis of the language behaviour by taking into account an individual's social networks (see Section 3.6 in Chapter 3). However, since this study is about language attitudes, an exclusive social network analysis is out of the scope of this project. For this reason, the linguistic contacts of the individuals (for example, L1 Telugu and L1 English in the social network) are taken into account, but density of networks and the linguistic repertoire of each individual are left out. This is because the study only requires understanding of how well the Telugu community is integrated into British society.

### **5.1.2 The Mixed Method Approach**

A mixed method approach typically uses a combination or integration of quantitative and qualitative methods (Angouri, 2010). The quantitative method allows for analysis of large amounts of numerically quantifiable data. It helps to deduce the result from the large-scale analysis to answer the research questions (Rasinger, 2013). If quantitative data helps us to answer questions pertaining to numbers, frequency (how many or how much) etc., qualitative data allows for a more open-ended analysis of the questions (how something happens) through the analysis of the participant reports from the interviews and focus groups.

In sociolinguistics, there are studies that make use of quantitative methods alone, even when it comes to the study of attitudes and perceptions of the group members towards their heritage and dominant languages. For example, Papapavlou and Pavlou (2001) made use of quantitative methods (a questionnaire) to measure the domains and functions of language use and perceptions about identity among a group of 274 Cypriot Greek students in London. Similarly, Dewaele and Wei (2014, p.235) made use of an online questionnaire to understand 'inter-individual variation (linked to personality traits,

multilingualism and sociobiographical variables) in attitudes towards code-switching (CS) among 2070 multilinguals'. The quantitative method allows for analysis of large amounts of numerically quantifiable data. It helps to deduce the result from the large-scale analysis and prove or disprove the hypothesis (Rasinger, 2013).

Some studies only use the qualitative methods to understand the attitudes and practices of language maintenance. Rasinger (2013, p.11) noted that the qualitative methods are inductive in nature. That is, qualitative tools such as focus groups and interviews are used to 'build a picture' of the current situation by analysing the views expressed by the participant group. There are many ways of obtaining credible evidence and the researcher's position determines what that evidence is and how it is obtained (Mertens and Hesse-Biber, 2013). Canagarajah (2013, p.134) noted that, for him to understand how the Sri Lankan Tamils make creative use of their language in an immigrant context, a quantitative analysis would not be sufficient. He observed:

Though the questionnaire enabled me to quantify the trends and patterns of bilingualism across three generations of Tamils [...] it is ancillary to my more important objective of gaining an insider perspective on how the community explains its language choice and attitudes. [...] I use primarily the interview data from family members, focus groups, and community leaders to understand attitudes to language maintenance and practices of identification.

It is a common practice in sociolinguistic research to use a mixed method approach to study language maintenance in immigrant settings (Hamid, 2005; Sridhar, 1988) because a methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1970) helps in the convergence and corroboration of research results (Angouri, 2010). By combining quantitative and qualitative methods, 'one might create a synergistic evaluation project, whereby one method enables the other to be more effective and together both methods would provide a fuller understanding of the evaluation problem' (Mertens and Hesse-Biber, 2013, p.7).

Using both qualitative and quantitative approaches is important in this research (see Table 5.1 below for a full list of reasons). Data pertaining to perceived language skills, usage, vitality and attitudes was gathered using the quantitative survey. The demographic data was gathered using other secondary sources. Language attitudes and vitality assessments were also collected using the interviews, i.e. qualitative methods. Some of the aspects in Table 5.1 can be explored using only one approach, either quantitative or qualitative, but most can only be ascertained by using both methods together. For example, a participant may report that she speaks to her child only in the heritage language but during the field observation it may come to light that the home language is only English for the child. This is not to say that one method keeps a check on the other, but they complement each other (Johnstone 2000). Wherever possible, field observation, such as language use in religious spaces, participation and language use at community events, use of language in media (such as prayer books, newsletters, magazines, radio,



internet, community libraries, etc.) are also reported as evidence for efforts of language maintenance.

Aspects of study	Method of study
Demographic aspects of the participant population such as age, sex, employment, education, marital status, etc.	Quantitative – through survey and supporting evidence from books, government records, websites, etc.
Self-reported language skills and language use in various domains of interaction	Quantitative – using the survey mainly Qualitative – field observations
Attitudes towards their heritage language and the dominant language and the value they attach to them	Quantitative – using the survey Qualitative – by analysing the responses in the interview
Ethnolinguistic vitality	Quantitative – using the survey Qualitative – field observations
Linguistic and cultural social network	As above
Language maintenance and shift behaviours	Quantitative and qualitative – synthesising various sections of the survey and interviews
Other maintenance efforts	Qualitative – by closely studying the efforts of the community to maintain their culture and identity. For example, Telugu associations, religious groups, media and entertainment, etc.

Table 5.1: Reasons for choosing mixed method study

## 5.2 Research Fieldwork and Tools

A participant information sheet was prepared to inform the participants about the purpose and procedure of the research. Every participant was given a copy of the participant information sheet and participant consent form either as a paper copy or as an attachment in the communication email. No payment was made for participation in the research.

### 5.2.1 Participant Eligibility

The following are the guidelines used to recruit participants for the research study:

- 1) The participants chosen from the Telugu community must have been living in the UK for at least two consecutive years (it was presumed that two years is a reasonable time to make an informed judgement about their attitudes towards language and culture in comparison with the dominant society).
- 2) Their heritage language must be Telugu, that is, they must be L1 speakers of Telugu or Telugu must be the first language of the parent/s or grandparent/s.
- 3) This study only includes adults because it is about attitudes and opinions about their language and culture. Since testing language proficiency is not part of the current project, children under the age of eighteen are not included.

- 4) This is a multigenerational study, and, bearing in mind the time of arrival of the Telugus in general to the UK (post 1960s), the first and second generation were recruited.
- 5) They must be living in London at the time of the study.

### **5.2.2 Field Worker's Background**

I am an Indian male from the southern Indian state, Andhra Pradesh, where Telugu is the language of the majority. I speak Telugu as my first language (L1) and read English as L2 at school. After attending university, I travelled and lived in various cities in India for about nine years before coming to the UK to do this research. As far as my cultural background is concerned, I was brought up in a traditional south Indian Hindu household. Having been educated in Guntur, Andhra Pradesh, I speak Telugu with a mid-central accent. I also have an understanding of different accents spoken in the state and can use some of them with relative ease.

I have noticed that my fluency in Telugu is not the same as it used to be ten years ago. During my work career, English language dominated the heritage language because my work involved teaching communication skills to call centre associates and soft skills to business process outsourcing employees in various roles in different companies. I had to read and practice more Telugu before starting the fieldwork so that the interviews could be conducted in the participants' first language as much as possible. In spite of such practice, a certain degree of switching between L1 and L2 has been noticed during the interviews. However, Krishnamurti (1978) points at that westernisation (code-switching and code-mixing between Telugu, English and Sanskrit) is common among Telugu speakers with a formal English education background. Even if I spoke using only Telugu words, this would affect the interview adversely by making it very formal.

On 2 June 2014, erstwhile Andhra Pradesh was divided into Telangana state and the residual Andhra Pradesh state. Having close relationships with people of both regions, I have no favouritism to any one particular region. Knowing this background is crucial to understanding the challenges or opportunities that are encountered during the fieldwork as the participants can be from Telangana or Andhra Pradesh or they may be from different religions and castes. I have been asked on a few occasions about my religion, caste and whether I am supportive of a separate Telangana state by different participants. These situations may pose serious concerns if they are not dealt with carefully, because the participants may choose to withhold or change the information they provide, depending on the sociological proximity they perceive that they have with the researcher.

It is said that caste plays an important role in societal, political, religious and economic matters in Andhra Pradesh (Krishnamurthi, 1978; Benbabaali, 2013). It must be pointed

out that, on one occasion, a participant posed a direct question to me about my caste and when I responded with the detail the participant was very happy to know that my background matched with the participant's and was willing to take part in the research study. I was careful not to proactively share such information, unless upon insistence as in the case just mentioned. However, apart from that one occasion, there was no other discussion regarding caste or the role it plays among the several other participants I met during the study.

#### *5.2.2.1 Some Challenges and Observations*

Options to record the interviews remotely using Skype or conference call services were tried before the fieldwork commenced but abandoned due to technical issues. Moreover, the participants seemed to prefer meeting in person, which also builds familiarity and trust. The researcher-driven challenges were those that could be controlled, such as better planning, establishing more contacts, instant follow-up or, more accurately, overcoming the hesitation to follow up, preparing easy-to-use questionnaires, and making use of the technology such as conferencing (audio and video), questionnaire software, etc. There were other challenges that I had little control over; for instance, staying in London for longer or frequent travel. Sometimes, there were other unforeseen challenges such as participants cancelling appointments at the last minute (this happened once after I reached the agreed meeting place), and objecting to being recorded (this also just happened once) in spite of seeking prior approval.

#### **5.2.3 The Survey**

A survey with six sections was created with questions covering the following research topics. There were 34 questions overall, of which Q29 to Q34 were applicable only to those with children. The survey was also designed in such a way that irrelevant responses do not appear based on the preceding response. In addition, help text was added to guide the participants with information on scales and further explanations (see questionnaire in Appendix 7). Five-point Likert scales were used for all questions that required responses on a continuum. Likert scales are popular in studies that measure attitudes (Rasinger, 2013). Most questions were taken directly from or inspired by the surveys of Bourhis et al.'s (1981) subjective ethnolinguistic vitality measurement, Rasinger's (2005) Tower Hamlets Bangla-English study and Hamid's (2005) Sylheti language shift study in Leeds.

#### **5.2.4 Interviews**

Interviewing was crucial for this study because interviews help to gain a more qualitative understanding of the attitudes towards the HL and DL and triangulate with the quantitative data. One of the main issues discussed with respect to interviewing in the field of sociolinguistics is the 'observer's paradox' (Labov, 1972, p.209). It is said that the presence of the investigator and the use of recording equipment may make the

participants conscious of the style and content of their speech. The term 'observer' is relevant in variation studies in which the intention is to study the phonetic, lexical or syntactic structures of the participants' language.

While linguistic aspects such as stylistics, code-switching and mixing are important in sociolinguistic studies, understanding the extra-linguistic opinions and attitudes is more crucial in the current sociological study of language. For this reason, the role the researcher plays is more that of an investigator than an observer, that is, someone who has a set of questions and seeks to gain responses to those through semi-structured interviews mostly conducted person to person and sometimes through focus groups.

Foster (1996), expanding on Junker's (1952, cited in Gold, 1958) definitions of observer roles, explained that they can be of four types:

These (the observer roles) range from the complete participant at one extreme to the complete observer at the other. Between these, but nearer the former, is the participant-as-observer; nearer the latter is the observer-as-participant (Gold, 1958, p.217).

A *complete observer* is one who is not known to the participants directly and ideally the participants are not aware that they are being observed.

In the second role-type, which is called *the observer as participant*, the observer is present; however, his role is defined as the person conducting the research. So, there is an element of detachment ensuring objectivity, but the social distance between the participant group and the researcher may not result in open and frank responses.

The third type is *the participant as observer* playing an active role during the fieldwork and sometimes helping the community members with other unrelated work. For example, Rasinger (2007) narrated how he pitched in to teach English at the Bangla community centre during his fieldwork in Tower Hamlets.

The last role-type, a *complete observer*, is someone who has been part of the group under study or may become a group member to gain the desired information. The investigator's role as either a participant or an observer is not revealed while the study is in progress. Such a covert operation may not be essential in the current context and this role does not comply with the ethics guidelines of this research study.

My dominant role has been that of a participant-observer because of my association with the language and culture. When possible, I attended the community events and offered to help some members in editing written literature. I also participated as a plenary speaker on a couple of occasions in events related to language and culture. Whenever possible, I also played the role of an observer-participant when the participants were not conscious of the recording equipment and spoke freely to other participants. One such chance arose when I attended a conference about Telugu language and some of the attendees were

participants in this study. Since the discussion was about the Telugu language itself, I was able to obtain a five-minute recording of the discussion. Such occasions were rare but quite useful.

Johnstone (2000, p.114) noted that the best interviews are the 'ones that are relaxed, friendly, spontaneous sounding, like a good conversation'. Similarly, Rubin and Rubin (2005, p.36) postulated the ideal characteristics of an interviewer, which are:

- The interviewer contributes actively to the conversation, he or she must be aware of his or her own opinions, experiences, cultural definitions, and even prejudices.
- The interviewer incurs serious ethical obligations to protect the interviewee ... owes loyalty and protection in return.
- Interviewers should not impose their views on interviewees.
- Responsive interviewing design is flexible and adaptive ... the interviewer must be able to change course based on what he or she learns.

Based on these tenets, the interviews were conducted using an informal unbiased approach and a semi-structured question format (see Appendix 8b). Depending on what information was collected from the participants, I was able to change course when required. For example, when a participant spoke about a Telugu person who runs a community radio in Europe and the UK, efforts were made to recruit him as well. In fact, it was only through the initial interviews that the Wave 1/Wave 2 differentiation was understood as the participants said that the initial days of settlement were very different from the current situation. From an ethical standpoint, participants were assured of their anonymity and accordingly no names or personal identifiers were used in this study (see Section 5.3.9 for participant information and anonymity).

Having the same linguistic and cultural background as the participants is particularly helpful in the fieldwork because of the 'detailed knowledge' about the language group (Fishman, 1989, p.87). Also, in order to make the participants feel more comfortable in my presence, I adopted a very informal approach. Bonding with them at a personal level helped to obtain honest opinions during the interviews. For this reason, I built my acquaintance with the participants prior to the interviews by attending a few social, cultural or religious meetings whenever possible. Care had to be taken to adjust the language in such a way that the participants were not intimidated, that is, not sounding too formal in using either Telugu or English.

If the participants felt that the research was about testing their Telugu language skills, they may have tried to pass the test by changing their normal style of speech. In one of the interviews, the participant said that he was making a conscious attempt to speak only in Telugu. At this time, I had to set the expectation very clearly that the interview was not about assessing his language skills. Giving a formal start to an interview may also change

the mood setting for the participant. Therefore, I learned to commence the recording as discreetly as possible while the discussion was at an informal level (although the participants were informed of the recording aspect prior to the meeting). I used open-ended questions to encourage the participants to speak freely. The questions covered some of the aspects in the questionnaire, especially the biographical information. Other questions were around their heritage language usage, social network contacts, travel, their attitudes towards their language and their identity, opinions about the dominant group, children and their language, to name a few.

### **5.2.5 Customisation of Data Gathering Tools**

#### *Basic Vocabulary Test for G2 Interviewed Participants*

A vocabulary test was designed to test the language skills of the second-generation participants. This was adapted from Yagmur, de Bot and Korzeliuss's (2010) controlled lexical naming task (CLNT). Although, the CLNT test was used by these researchers to test the language attrition among the Turkish immigrants in Australia, a rudimentary and informal test was used in this study to understand which aspects of Telugu culture the participants could readily identify. The task was to look at the picture or symbol and recall the Telugu names. The first generation were excluded from the test because the purpose was to understand if the second generations who grew up in the UK have any linguistic and cultural knowledge of Telugu. For this reason, the task comprised naming only simple lexical items that are common in Telugu households. They had to give the Telugu names for the items shown, such as vegetables, fruits, household articles, colours, animals, days of the week and numbers.

#### *Questions about Children's Language*

A short survey (see survey in Appendix 7: questions 29 to 33) about the children's language was given to understand what the parents think about their children's attitudes towards the HL and DL and their proficiency in them. No one who answered this section of the survey said they had more than two children. The questions sought opinions about the first and second child separately.

The question on age was divided into three categories: children i) under 5 years of age; ii) between 5 and 18; and iii) over 18. With respect to place of birth, they were only required to state if the child was born in the UK or in India. Of the 52 valid responses received, among the first born (n=52), 34.5% (n=18) were under 5 and 11.5% (n=6) were over 18. Most of them were in the mid-age group (54%, n=28). Among the second born (n=24), most were under 5 (56.5%, n=13), five were over 18 (21.7%) and five were between 5 and 18 (21.7%). About 70% (n=37) of the first born were born in India and a similar percentage of the second born (67 %, n=16) were born in the UK. Based on this data, the following aspects became clear:

Most first born were still under the age of 18

Most second born were born post-immigration

The question on language skills has been adjusted to capture the level of Telugu and English language skills children possessed in the parents' views. The following options were given and were later converted to a Likert scale:

1 = 'Can neither speak nor understand'

2 = 'Can understand but cannot speak'

3 = 'Can speak and understand but not read or write'

4 = 'Can speak and understand well and read or write a little'

5 = 'Can speak, understand, read and write well'

The second variable question, *Overall, how much regard would you say your children have towards these (Telugu and English) languages?*, was accompanied with the help text explaining what *regard* here meant, which is the personal importance that their children attach to these languages when they are exposed to these languages through speech, media, travel, etc. The third variable question was, *In general, how much contact do your children have with your family, relatives or friends in India? (for example, grandparents, uncles and aunts, family friends, etc.)* (5 = very frequent; 1 = none at all). The results from this survey are presented in Chapter 6.2.2.

#### *Customisation of Subjective EV Questionnaire*

The original SEV questionnaire was customised for the study and the following eight questions were chosen (see questions 17 to 21 in the survey, Appendix 7). Variable names are given in brackets and the EV factors are italicised. As with proficiency and domain use, the five-point Likert scale was used.

1) How highly regarded are the following languages (Telugu and English) where you live? (EVI<sub>Regard</sub>) – *status factor*

2) How much control do you think the following groups have over political, economic and business matters in the area where you live? (EVI<sub>Control</sub>) – *institutional support factor*

In this question, you are required to compare the Telugu and English groups using the parameters in the headings of the rating table.

3) Population size (EVI<sub>Population</sub>) – *demographic factor*

4) Cultural pride (EVI<sub>Pride</sub>) – *status factor*

5) Socially strong and active (EVI<sub>Active</sub>) – *institutional support factor*

6) Wealthy (EVI<sub>Wealth</sub>) – *status factor*

7) How strong and active do you feel the following groups will be 20 to 30 years from now? (5 = extremely; 1 = not at all) (EVI<sub>Future</sub>) – *not assigned to any in the original questionnaire by Bourhis et al. (1981)*

8) To what extent do you feel the following groups in the UK teach their mother tongue to their children? (5 = very successfully; 1 = never at all) (EVI<sub>TeachMT</sub>) – *additional question incorporated in order to compensate for the question on teaching at schools*

Questions such as language use in religion and government services were removed because there is no evidence of such usage in the UK or even in London. Institutional support factors such as schools and colleges were not used because my initial consultations with the Telugu community proved them to be redundant. Where possible, observed data is presented. One additional question regarding the effectiveness of teaching their heritage language was introduced.

### **5.2.6 Sampling**

Snowball samples or social network samples are a good way to recruit participants for studies when the exact population size is not available (Rasinger, 2013, p.51). ‘Snowball sampling’ (David and Sutton, 2004, p.152) or the ‘friend-of-a-friend’ method can help the researcher to recruit participants in a particular social network (Milroy, 1987, p.44). But, this may also mean that the data will be biased because it is then possible to recruit a group with shared cultural ties. A similar concern was expressed by a participant whom the researcher approached for participation. He, being a member of a Telugu association in London, said that his circle of Telugu friends consisted of other committee members of the association who were working on the maintenance of the language and culture in the city. This may have meant that they all shared similar values and belief systems. In his study of the Sri Lankan Tamil families, Cangarajah (2008) also adopted a combination of friend-of-a-friend as well as a proactive approach to recruit participants from diverse socio-economic, regional and religious backgrounds.

Contacts were established by adopting a diversified snowballing method to recruit participants from different social network zones. This meant that I approached participants from different social networks and recruited other participants through the initial contacts. I first approached a Telugu community association to recruit participants and then approached another organisation with a different religious background. In the course of the research, I was also able to meet other Telugus who were not part of these organisations and recruited participants from their networks as well. One of the early concerns I had about this recruitment method was that the participant sample would be too diversified and may not give a true picture of social networks. But, as more participants were recruited, I noticed a merging of networks. For example, on more than one occasion the same name was suggested by two participants in different networks. This gave me the confidence that establishing contact with different focal points would give a more diverse yet integrative sample of participants. The figure below illustrates the diversified snowballing method used to recruit participants for the study, as explained above.



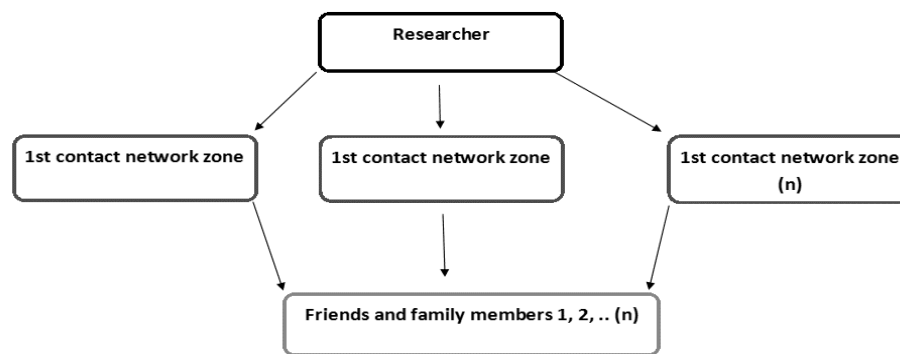


Figure 5.1: Diversified snowball sampling

The main language report (ONS Census, 2011) shows that most Telugus are in Hounslow and Newham. Most participants in this research were also from these two boroughs. The sample size was 109 participants (about 2–3% of the population) for the survey and 15 hours for the interviews covering 33 participants.

### 5.2.7 Tools for Data Collection

For methodologies focused on social questions, web-based survey technology is particularly helpful (Hazen, 2013) because it can be administered remotely and the participant can take it in his/her free time. I used the survey tools available online to conduct the surveys. Apart from the online survey, an electronic copy of the survey was also created, which could be used to mark responses on the computer without having to take a print out. This allowed the participants to email back the completed survey. This is useful in situations when the online survey tool cannot be accessed due to technical issues. A good-quality voice recording with the ability to convert into mp3 and wave files was used to record the interviews. A backup voice recorder was also used to minimise the risk of losing information.

### 5.3 The Sample

One hundred and nine participants from the London Telugu community (LTC) took the survey, some in person and some online and a few by post. Thirty-three participated in face-to-face interactions, which included one-to-one interviews, family interviews and focus groups. Apart from these, observational fieldwork included attending community-related cultural activities and celebratory events. In the sections that follow, a brief description of the biographic information is presented.

### 5.3.1 Generation

(Data in Table 5.2 below)

Of the 109 sample size, 93 (85%) were first generation (G1) and 16 were second generation (G2). Among the first-generation group, seven belonged to the early arrival or Wave 1 and 86 were from Wave 2. Among the second-generation group, five were in the Wave 1 group and 11 in the Wave 2 group. All second-generation members of Wave 1 were UK born and all Wave 2 second-generation were India born.

### 5.3.2 Gender

Of the 109 participants, 65.1% were men (n=71) and 34.9% were women (n=38). Wave 1 first-generation had 2 males and 5 females; and second-generation had 2 males and 3 females participating in this study. Wave 2 first-generation had 65 males and 24 females; and second generation had 2 males and 6 females participating in this study.

### 5.3.3 Age

The mean age of the participant group was 35.69 years, the youngest being 18 and the oldest being 78 (range = 60). The median age and mode were 34 for this sample. The cut-off age for this study was 18 years of age. The mean age of the first-generation group was 37.43 years, where Wave 1 was 66 years and Wave 2 was 35 years. The mean age of the second-generation group was 26 years, where Wave 1 was 30 years and Wave 2 was 22 years. The mean age of arrival (AoA) of the India-born second generation was 10.5 years (min = 4; max = 16). The mean age of men was 36 and of women was 35 for the overall group. The oldest participant belonged to the Wave 1 first-generation group and the youngest was in the Wave 2 second-generation group. For ease of analysis, the participants were divided into four age groups – *18 to 25 years* (n=12, 11%), *26 to 35 years* (n=52, 49%), *36 to 50 years* (n=30, 30%) and *over 50 years* (n=10, 9%).

### 5.3.4 Length of Residence

The mean length of residence (LoR) was 10.3 years, with a minimum of two years and a maximum of 46 years. The median LoR was eight years and the mode was two years. Two years of LoR was set as the cut-off for eligibility to participate. The mean LoR of the G1 group was 9.5 years, where the mean of Wave 1 was 39 years and Wave 2 was seven years. The mean LoR of the G2 group was 16 years, where the mean of Wave 1 was 30.5 and of Wave 2 was 8.75 years (min = 3, max = 13). Since all Wave 1 second-generation participants were UK born, their length of residence was equal to their age. For ease of analysis, the participants were divided into four LoR groups – *2 to 5 years* (n= 35, 36%), *6 to 10 years* (n=31, 32%), *10 to 20 years* (n=21, 21%) and *over 20 years* (n=11, 11%). Please note that there are 11 missing values.

### **5.3.5 Location of Residence**

The majority of the participants live in East London (n=38, 36%) and West London (n=39, 36%), in particular in Eastham and Hounslow. Only 11% were from other locations (Central, North and South London) and 19 (17%) did not answer this question. This is reflective of the Telugu settlement in London even when compared to the main language survey from the 2011 census.

### **5.3.6 Original Location**

Of the 93 who responded with their original location information, 56% (n=52) were from Telangana state, 32% (n=30) were from Andhra Pradesh and 12% (n=11) were from other regions in India.

### **5.3.7 Education and Employment**

This was a highly educated sample, with 55% (n=60) having studied up to master's level, 38% (n=41) up to bachelor's level and only 6% (n=7) below university level. Many of the participants carried out their higher studies with English as the language of instruction and had to prove their ability in English through tests such as IELTS. Since this question was not part of the study, it is not possible to present data regarding their English language tests. However, it is important to note that many of them were functionally competent in the English language before moving to the UK. The majority of the participant group works in the IT industry (n=56, 53%). Other employments include *healthcare* (8%), *management* (5%), *other non-technical jobs* (14%), *self-employed* (6%) and *not-employed* (14%). Please note that *not-employed* also includes retired personnel, students, house spouses and unemployed.

### **5.3.8 Marriage and Religion**

Among the participants, 82% (n=86) were married and, of those, 95% (n=82) were married to a Telugu partner. In the sample, 90% was Hindu and 5% was Christian. The others (5%) included responses such as not religious, spiritual, no religion, etc.

	Groups	Number	Percent		Groups	Number	Percent	
Generation	First (G1)	93	85	Original location	Telangana	52	56	
	Second (G2)	16	15		Andhra	30	32	
Wave/Generation (W/G)	W1G1	7	6	Education	Other	11	12	
	W1G2	5	5		Under University	7	6	
	W2G1	86	79		Bachelors	41	38	
	W2G2	11	10		Over Masters	60	55	
Gender	Male	71	65	Employment	IT-related	56	53	
	Female	38	35		Healthcare	9	8	
Age	18-25yrs	12	11		Non-technical	15	14	
	Mean = 35.7 yrs	26-35yrs	52		49	Management	5	5
	Median = 34 yrs	36-50yrs	32		30	Self-employed	6	6
	Range = 60 yrs	Over 50yrs	10		9	Not employed	15	14
	LoR	2-5yrs	35		36	Marital Status	Married	86
Mean = 10.2 yrs		6-10yrs	31	32	Not Married		19	18
Median = 8 yrs		10-20yrs	21	21	Partner Language	Telugu	82	95
Range = 44 yrs		Over 20yrs	11	11		Other	4	5
Location in London		East London	38	36	Religion	Hindu	98	90
	West London	39	36	Christian		5	5	
	Other	11	10			Other	6	5
	No response	19	17					

Table 5.2: Snapshot of demographic data of the sample

With respect to the variables used for testing in the analysis, first- and second-generation groups (G1 and G2), wave and generation (W/G) groups, and age and length of residence (LoR) are used as the main independent variables. This is because the main research question seeks to understand how the time of arrival (Wave 1/2) and generation (G1/G2) play a role in maintaining the Telugu language. Gender does not seem to make a significant difference in any of the tests conducted and is therefore not discussed. Furthermore, this being a homogenous group educationally, occupationally (highly-skilled jobs) and religiously (mostly Hindu), these factors do not contribute to any significant differences. That said, where required and if observed to be significant, they have been used for discussion.

### **5.3.9 Details of the Participants Interviewed**

In Chapters 8 and 9, data gathered from the interviews is analysed and discussed. Participants are anonymised using a unique ID: a P-number where 'P' stands for participant and the number is the serial number assigned in the chronological order of responses to the survey. The table below (5.2) shows the 33 participants who were interviewed. The 3 participants in the first block are from the Wave 1 second-generation group, who were born in the UK. Only one participant (P33) responded via email. The second block consists of seven India-born second-generation participants from Wave 2. Five participants are from the Wave 1 first-generation group, who arrived in the UK in the 1960s and 70s. Finally, 18 participants are from the Wave 2 first-generation group, who arrived from the early 2000s to 2010.

Please note that all second-generation participants from Wave 1 are UK born and all second-generation participants from Wave 2 are India born. Therefore, in the analysis, UK born also implies Wave 1 second generation and India born is Wave 2 second generation.

Gen	ID	Wave/Gen	Gender	Age (years)	Location	Employment
G2 UK Born	P1	W1G2	Male	34	North London	Management
	P32	W1G2	Male	28	London	NHS doctor
	P33	W1G2	Female	32	London	Healthcare sales
G2 India born	P8	W2G2	Female	25	Central London	Doctor
	P10	W2G2	Male	25	Borehamwood	Student/culture
	P103	W2G2	Female	18	Hounslow	Student
	P104	W2G2	Female	18	Hounslow	Student
	P105	W2G2	Female	19	Hounslow	Student
	P106	W2G2	Female	19	Hounslow	Student
	P107	W2G2	Female	20	Hounslow	Student
Arrived in 1960s and 70s	P2	W1G1	Female	57	Hornchurch	Writer/Culture
	P6	W1G1	Male	64	Hornchurch	Physician
	P25	W1G1	Male	78	Ilford	Retired as engineer
	P26	W1G1	Female	74	Ilford	House spouse
	P28	W1G1	Female	59	London	NHS doctor
Arrivals since early 2000s to 2010	P3	W2G1	Male	54	Central London	Consultant/culture
	P4	W2G1	Male	45	Manor Park	IT/culture
	P5	W2G1	Female	40	Manor Park	Admin/culture
	P7	W2G1	Female	52	Central London	Nurse
	P9	W2G1	Male	62	Borehamwood	Management/culture
	P11	W2G1	Female	29	North London	Researcher
	P12	W2G1	Female	30	North London	IT
	P14	W2G1	Male	29	East India	Consultant
	P15	W2G1	Male	32	Fairlop	IT
	P16	W2G1	Male	33	Ilford	IT
	P17	W2G1	Male	37	Eastham	IT
	P18	W2G1	Female	35	Eastham	IT
	P19	W2G1	Male	41	Eastham	IT
	P23	W2G1	Female	25	East India	HR
	P27	W2G1	Male	45	Northolt	Management/politics/culture
	P65	W2G1	Male	38	Hounslow	Chartered accountant/culture
	P91	W2G1	Female	36	Hounslow	Beautician
	P100	W2G1	Male	45	Hounslow	Owns petrol stations

Table 5.3: Biographic information of the interviewed participants

## 5.4 On Statistical Tools Employed

The purpose of this section is to describe all the statistical calculations employed in the quantitative analysis of the data. The statistical terminology used is based on the social science conventions. Quantitative analysis was conducted using SPSS 20 and the sources referred to are Field (2009), Lund and Lund (2013) and Rasinger (2013).

### 5.4.1 Creation of Indices from the Dependent Variables

All statistical analysis is categorised into four main themes and hence four main indices are created.

- 1) Language proficiency indices (PI)
- 2) Use of English and Telugu in different domains of interaction with domain language use indices (DI)
- 3) Rating the vitality of Telugu and English with subjective ethnolinguistic vitality indices (VI)
- 4) A culmination of different questions measuring general attitudes towards HL and DL with attitude indices (AI).

Please note: To make reading easier, three character indices have been created (for example TVI instead of TSEVI). P stands for language proficiency, D stands for domain language use, V stands for subjective ethnolinguistic vitality and A stands for general attitudes from an individual's viewpoint.

Language proficiency indices (PI) were created by transforming four ordinal variables – *speaking, reading, writing* and *comprehension* skills – into Telugu proficiency index (TPI) for *Telugu* and English proficiency index (EPI) for *English*. For example, TPI is created by adding the mean scores of all four skills and dividing that total by 5, because a five-point Likert scale was used in the survey. The formula used for data reduction was:

Proficiency Index

$$PI = \frac{\text{mean}(\text{all skills in the respective language})}{5}$$

Actual example: TPI = 4.57 (speaking)+4.09 (reading)+3.83 (writing)+4.73 (comprehension) divided by 4 (number of variables) gives a mean score of 17.22. This is further divided by the highest possible rating on the scale, which is 5, and the result is 0.86

The following indices were also created in the same way as explained above.

Domain language use indices (DI) were created by transforming seven ordinal variables – exposure to *reading, writing* and *media* in Telugu and English and language use in *home, work, neighbourhood* and *friendship* domains – into two indices: TDI and EDI

Domain Index

$$DI = \frac{\text{mean}(\text{all domain language use})}{5}$$

Eight subjective ethnolinguistic vitality questions on status, demographic and institutional factors (Giles et al., 1977; Bourhis et al., 1981) were combined to form the Telugu vitality index (TVI) and English vitality index (EVI). The original Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality (SEV) questionnaire was modified and only questions required for the study were included, as explained in Section 5.1.1.

#### Vitality Index

$$VI = \frac{\text{mean}(\text{all group subjective vitality scores})}{5}$$

Questions on temporal importance (importance while in India and now in the UK) of HL and DL, their functional (instrumental factor) vitality and emotional vitality variables were combined to make *general attitude* indices for Telugu (TAI) and English (EAI).

#### General Attitude Index

$$AI = \frac{\text{mean}(\text{all individual attitude scores})}{5}$$

Some questions from the survey were kept out of any of these indices, because they cannot be used to create English and Telugu indices as in the cases above. Examples of these variables are: contact with India (frequency and medium), L1 contact groups (Telugu and English) (discussed in Section 6.3) and several questions on attitudes broadly covered by themes such as communication, accommodation and acculturation (discussed in Section 7.2).

#### 5.4.2 Reliability Analysis

Cronbach's alpha reliability assessment (1951) was conducted to test the internal reliability of the items. Basically, a higher Cronbach's alpha score means that the scale is internally consistent and the items are highly intercorrelated (DeVellis, 2012, p.34). Although the recommended alpha value is  $\geq 0.80$  (Bryman, 2012), alpha scores higher than 0.70 are considered good, and higher than 0.60 are considered acceptable (DeVellis, 2012). Any score less than 0.60, however, is deemed poor or unacceptable. The internal reliability measure of all the multi-item indices was good ( $\alpha \geq 0.70$ ) and one was at an acceptable level ( $\alpha \geq 0.60$ ).

The following table shows the indices, the number of variables combined to create each index and their alpha coefficients. Please note that for each factor, such as language proficiency and domain use, there are two indices: T-indices where T stands for Telugu and E-indices where E stands for English.



Index	No. of variables	$\alpha$ score
TPI	4	.882
EPI	4	.902
TDI	7	.798
EDI	7	.723
TVI	8	.826
EVI	8	.780
TAI	5	.787
EAI	5	.690

Table 5.4: Reliability scores of the main indices

### 5.4.3 Normality Tests

In order to ascertain how the participants in the sample rated their attitudes and behaviours, it is important to understand whether the data is parametric or non-parametric. Understanding this will help determine which methods can be used for significance testing in order to make assumptions for the overall population using this sample (Field, 2009). Parametric tests are used for interval or scale-type data and non-parametric tests are used for ordinal and nominal-type data. However, this distinction alone is not sufficient to choose the right tests. Understanding the distribution – normal or non-normal – is important, because if the data is normally distributed, then parametric tests are recommended (ibid.).

If the data is normally distributed it will return a bell-shaped curve (Rasinger, 2013) or an evenly-split box plot (Lund and Lund, 2013). If non-normally distributed, it will either be too kurtotic (i.e. the peak is too high) or skewed (either left or right-orientated in the graph). This also means that there would be a considerable number of outliers (too high or too low ratings) spread away from the mean. Three levels of testing have been employed to ascertain if the data is normally distributed or otherwise (see Appendix 10 for the normality box plots and z-scores):

Level 1: If the mean and median are very similar then the data is normally distributed (Rasinger, 2013). None of the means and medians is the same but the Telugu vitality index (TVI) and English attitude index (EAI) are very similar with a 0.1 point difference between the mean and median.

Level 2: Visual inspection of the box plots and histograms show that almost all the variables and the subsequent indices are non-normally distributed (Lund and Lund, 2013) with the exception of the Telugu domain index (TDI) and Telugu vitality index (TVI), which do not have any outliers.

Level 3: If the skewness is very near to zero then the data is normally distributed (Rasinger, 2013). However, upon further examination none of the variables has a skewness score near to zero.

These tests confirm that the data collected in the survey as well as the indices created are predominantly non-normally distributed and therefore treated as non-parametric data.

#### **5.4.4 Correlation Tests**

When the data is non-parametric, that is, non-normally distributed, Spearman rank correlation tests are appropriate for understanding the relationship between variables (Field, 2009). The correlation between variables can be positive (greater than zero), negative (less than zero) or there may be no correlation (equal to zero). Following Cohen (1989), in this analysis, if the correlation coefficient is greater than 0.5 it is described as a strong (positive/negative) correlation between the factors used for testing. If it is between 0.3 and 0.5 then it is moderate and if it is between 0.1 and 0.29 it is weak. In social science research, correlation tests are used to show the association between variables and not causality, which may be more appropriate in natural sciences (Oppenheim, 1992). Staying close to this principle, correlation tests are carried out to understand if the variables are interrelated only. No claims are made to show one variable causing another to either increase or decrease.

#### **5.4.5 Significance Tests**

Based on the nature of the data, non-parametric tests are used to test for the significance of differences between the groups. Where two groups are involved (for example, generation = G1 and G2) the Mann-Whitney U test is used. Where there are more than two groups (for example, the four age groups) a Kruskal-Wallis test is used to understand whether or not the differences are significant (Lund and Lund, 2013; Rasinger, 2013; Field, 2009). The differences that are being tested are between mean scores for the transformed index scores (scale data) and mean ranks for the individual dependent variables (ordinal data).

## Chapter 6: Language Proficiency, Domain Use and Social Contacts

The purpose of Chapters 6 and 7 is to analyse and discuss the statistical data from the survey, and to present the interview analysis and notable observations made during the fieldwork. Section 6.1 provides an overview of the four main factors (explained in 5.4.1) used in the study: *language proficiency*, *domain language use*, *ethnolinguistic vitality* and *general attitudes* towards the heritage language (HL; Telugu) and dominant language (DL; English). A detailed analysis and discussion of the participants' self-reported language proficiency is presented in 6.2 and their domain language use in 6.3. Chapter 7 aims to present an analysis and discussion on *ethnolinguistic vitality* and *general attitudes*. In other words, Chapter 6 focuses on exploring the behavioural factors (*what they can do* and *what they do*) and Chapter 7 on attitudinal factors (*what they think* and *how they feel*) pertaining to heritage language maintenance for the two waves and generations of Telugus in London.

It is to be noted that the following abbreviations will be used while discussing the results from the four main factors (indices) introduced above. As a reminder, these have also been elaborated in *Abbreviations* on page 10, as well as in Section 5.4.1.

- *TPI* and *EPI* indicate self-reported Telugu and English language proficiency indices, respectively
- *TDI* and *EDI* indicate self-reported Telugu and English domain language use indices, respectively
- *TVI* and *EVI* indicate self-reported Telugu and English ethnolinguistic vitality indices, respectively
- *TAI* and *EAI* indicate self-reported attitudes regarding personal importance and value judgements towards Telugu and English, respectively. These are also referred to as the general attitudes in this study.

### 6.1 Overview of the Survey Data

The following table (6.1) shows the consolidated descriptive statistics for all the main indices, which include the mean score, median, mode, standard deviation, range, minimum and maximum scores as well as the correlation. The main aspects of each individual index scores are discussed below.

Main Indices →	Proficiency Index (PI)		Domain Index (DI)		Ethnolinguistic Vitality Index (VI)		General Attitude Index (AI)	
Telugu (T) and English (E) Indices →	TPI	EPI	TDI	EDI	TVI	EVI	TAI	EAI
N	109	105	109	108	109	109	108	108
Mean	0.86	0.90	0.68	0.85	0.61	0.86	0.80	0.84
Median	1	0.95	0.71	0.87	0.60	0.87	0.83	.85
Mode	1	1	0.82	1	0.68	0.83	0.88	0.89
Std. Deviation	0.20	0.11	0.19	0.12	0.16	0.12	0.12	0.08
Range	0.70	0.40	0.77	0.55	0.66	0.55	0.62	0.45
Minimum	0.30	0.60	0.23	0.45	0.30	0.45	0.38	0.55
Maximum	1	1	1	1	0.96	1	1	1
Spearman Correl	r=0.027; p=0.788		r=0.113; p=0.246		r=0.164; p=0.088		r=0.313; p=0.001	

Table 6.1: Descriptive statistics of main survey indices

#### 6.1.1 Telugu and English Language Proficiency Indices (TPI vs EPI)

As explained in Section 5.4.1, the proficiency index is derived by combining the self-reported language skills of *speaking, reading, writing* and *comprehension*. The data below shows that the mean of English proficiency index (EPI) is 0.91, which is slightly higher than that of Telugu (TPI=0.86). The difference in means does not really reveal much about proficiency levels, however; when the range is taken into consideration, it can be seen that English at 0.40 has a considerably lower range than Telugu, which is at 0.70. This shows that there is a significant variation in reporting Telugu proficiency (min=0.30, max=1) compared to English (min=0.60; max=1). Therefore, based on the proficiency indices, it is evident that there is not only a high level of bilingualism in Telugu and English, but also more proficiency is reported in the latter. The data in Table 6.1 also reveals that the correlation between the Telugu and English proficiency indices is not significant ( $r=0.027$ ,  $p=0.788$ ). This means it cannot be said that participants rated Telugu low because of their perceived proficiency in English being high, or vice versa. A detailed analysis and discussion on self-reported language proficiency is presented in Section 6.2 of this chapter.

#### 6.1.2 Telugu and English Domain Language Use (TDI vs EDI)

Domain index (DI) is a combination of *exposure* (reading, writing and other media domains, such as the preference/use of these languages on the internet, TV, radio, etc.)

as well as actual *language use* (i.e. speaking) in the home, neighbourhood, work/school and friendship/social domains. With respect to this index, English (EDI mean = 0.85) is more dominant than Telugu (TDI mean = 0.68). A wider range, (0.77) with a minimum score of 0.23 and a maximum score of 1 for Telugu, indicates a very low usage of the heritage language. The domain indices clearly point to English being the dominant domain language for the overall participant group. The data in the table above also shows that the correlation between the Telugu and English domain indices is not significant ( $r=0.113$ ,  $p=0.246$ ). This means it cannot be categorically stated that participants rated Telugu low because they perceive their usage of English to be high, or vice versa. In the subsequent analysis (see Section 6.3), it is shown how the *home domain* is still a stronghold for Telugu usage compared to other domains, in concurrence with Fishman's (1972, p.114) observation of the home domain being more HL 'maintenance-prone'.

### 6.1.3 Telugu and English Ethnolinguistic Vitality (TVI vs EVI)

It is to be noted that the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality scores are indicative of the participants' perceptions about the in- and out-groups (Giles et al., 1977; Bourhis et al., 1981). As explained in Section 5.4.1, the vitality index is a combination of eight SEV factors. The mean score of Telugu ethnolinguistic vitality (TVI) is 0.61. This is considerably lower than English (EVI), which is at 0.86. The range of TVI (0.66) is also higher, with a minimum score of 0.3 and a maximum of 0.96, whereas the data shows that English has a comparatively smaller range (0.55) with a minimum of 0.45 and a maximum of 1. This clearly shows that the ratings of Telugu vitality are more varied compared to English. English is rated considerably higher than Telugu, indicating a low vitality assignment for the in-group. Like the proficiency and domain indices described above, the correlation between the Telugu and English proficiency indices is not significant ( $r=0.164$ ;  $p=0.08$ ). A more in-depth analysis and discussion on the SEV factors is presented in the next chapter (see Section 7.1).

### 6.1.4 General Attitudes Towards Telugu and English (TAI vs EAI)

It is to be noted that the general attitude scores are indicative of the individuals' perception about the importance of Telugu and English in their lives. The attitude indices (TAI and EAI) are a combination of self-reported individual attitudes about the usefulness and emotional significance attached to the two languages. The mean score of English (0.84) is greater than that of Telugu (0.80). Interestingly, the difference between TAI and EAI scores is much smaller (0.04) than the subjective vitality scores (0.25), which indicates that the way they rate the Telugu group's ethnolinguistic vitality is different from their individual perception of the language. However, a much wider range can be seen for TAI (0.62) compared to EAI (0.45), indicating the presence of outliers who rated Telugu low. There is a moderately positive correlation between TAI and EAI ( $r=0.313$ ;  $p=0.001$ ),

indicating a rating that is complementary and not substitutive, meaning equal importance is given to both languages. A detailed analysis of the attitude factors is presented in Section 7.2 of the next chapter.

#### 6.1.5 Correlation Between Attitudes and Behaviours

Several studies in LMLS are concerned with the attitudes and behaviours towards the heritage or in-group language and the dominant out-group language (Sridhar, 1988; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Hamid, 2011). Therefore, self-reported behavioural aspects (BHVR), which are language proficiency and domain language use; and self-reported attitudinal aspects (ATT), which are ethno-linguistic vitality and general attitudes, were combined to form BHVR and ATT indices respectively. In order to test the reliability of these indices, a Cronbach alpha test was performed and the scores indicate strong to moderate reliability (see Table 6.2) with non-normally distributed data.

A Spearman correlation test indicates that there is a strong positive correlation between attitudes and behaviours towards Telugu ( $r = 0.614$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ), which shows that those who reported better proficiency and usage in Telugu also rated the vitality (ethnolinguistic, functional and emotional) more positively. The correlation between the two English factors on the other hand is only weak ( $r = 0.198$ ,  $p = 0.040$ ), which shows the behavioural factor for English, even though positively correlated with attitudes, is not as strong as the relation between the Telugu factors. Interestingly, there is no correlation between the English and Telugu factors. This indicates that the two languages have been rated independently, which is to say that one does not influence the other.

	TEL_BHVR	ENG_BHVR	TEL_ATT	ENG_ATT
Telugu: self-reported behaviours TEL_BHVR (Cronbach alpha = 0.864)	1.000	-0.039 p=0.686	0.614 p=0.000	-0.029 p=0.765
English: self-reported behaviours (ENG_BHVR) (Cronbach alpha = 0.814)	-0.039 p=0.686	1.000	-0.014 p=0.885	0.198 p=0.040
Telugu: self-reported attitudes (TEL_ATT) (Cronbach alpha = 0.837)	0.614 p=0.000	-0.014 p=0.885	1.000	0.010 p=0.914
English: self-reported attitudes (ENG_ATT) (Cronbach alpha = 0.714)	-0.029 p=0.765	0.198 p=0.040	0.010 p=0.914	1.000

Table 6.2: Correlation between the self-reported behaviour and attitude indices

### 6.1.6 Generation and Wave Differences

The following table (6.3) shows the mean scores of all indices of both languages by generation (G1 = first generation and G2 = second generation). Those differences in the mean scores that are significant are in bold. The non-parametric tests used were Mann-Whitney for the *generation group* as there are only two groups to compare (G1 and G2), but the Kruskal Wallis test was used for the wave-generation group, as there are four groups to compare. It is to be noted that W1 and W2 in the table below stand for Wave 1 and Wave 2, respectively. In general, the first-generation participants rated Telugu factors higher than the second-generation group, but the latter group rated English factors higher overall.

The differences in index scores for proficiency, domain use and attitudes are significant at over 95% confidence level. This indicates that *generation* is a factor to be considered in rating the two languages. When we consider the proficiency scores in Telugu between the two generations (TPI; G1 = 0.91 and G2 = 0.59) the differences indicate that the second generation did not rate their Telugu skills very highly, and a similar trend is also observed with respect to Telugu use in the domains (TDI; G1 = 0.71 and G2 = 0.49). These results are not surprising, as it is expected that the first-generation group will be more proficient in the heritage language and the second-generation group will be more proficient in the host or dominant language (Coulmas, 2013). The reason for this is that the second-generation participants in this study were either UK born, or have spent a significant part of their lives in the UK, making English their main language of communication.

With reference to the waves (recall, Wave 1 represents the early arrivals and Wave 2 the later arrivals), the most salient aspect is that the first-generation Wave 1 group reported significantly lower proficiency (0.73) and domain use (0.47) in Telugu compared to the first-generation Wave 2 group (TPI = 0.92 and TDI = 0.74). This indicates that length of residence and period of arrival (Clyne, 2003) are also factors to consider with respect to the skills and usage of the heritage language. All W/G groups rated English highly, although when it comes to attitudes, the first-generation Wave 2 group rated both English (0.84) and Telugu (0.83), at almost the same level. This means the most HL-proficient group has also rated the DL (English) high and on a par with Telugu. The mean score differences between the two second-generation groups of Wave 1 and Wave 2 are not very high.

		Proficiency Index (PI)	Domain Index (DI)	SEV Index (VI)	Attitude Index (AI)
Telugu	G1	0.91	0.71	0.62	0.82
	G2	0.59 <b>p=0.000</b>	0.49 <b>p=0.00</b>	0.57 p=0.220	0.69 <b>p=0.002</b>
English	G1	0.89	0.85	0.84	0.84
	G2	0.94 <b>p=0.002</b>	0.90 <b>p=0.06</b>	0.92 <b>p=0.014</b>	0.83 p=0.482
Telugu	W1G1	0.73	0.47	0.58	0.73
	W1G2	0.58	0.45	0.53	0.67
	W2G1	0.92	0.74	0.63	0.83
	W2G2	0.60 <b>p=0.000</b>	0.51 <b>p=0.000</b>	0.59 p=0.434	0.71 <b>p=0.003</b>
English	W1G1	0.91	0.86	0.90	0.87
	W1G2	1.00	0.97	0.85	0.82
	W2G1	0.89	0.85	0.84	0.84
	W2G2	0.96 <b>p=0.013</b>	0.87 p=0.068	0.95 <b>p=0.008</b>	0.84 p=0.632

Table 6.3: Mean and significance scores of all indices by generation and wave

To summarise the results in the table, the highest values assigned for all the factors (proficiency, usage, vitality and attitudes) were by the first-generation Wave 2 group. Immigrant groups that are relatively new to the host country commonly have a strong relationship with their heritage language and culture (Clyne, 2001), especially if there has been a change in linguistic and identity sentiments in the source country (see 2.3.1 on the emergence of Telugu nationalism). Mackey (1962 cited in Fishman, 1964, p.49) lists several external functions, such as the duration and frequency of contact (with the source country) and pressures derived from political, cultural and religious sources, which all play a role in the maintenance or shift from the heritage language. In the subsequent analysis it is shown how the increase in visibility for the Indian diaspora in recent decades may be contributing to such positive sentiments towards the heritage language and culture (see Section 7.1.2).

While the first-generation Wave 1 group rated Telugu proficiency slightly better than both the second-generation groups, there is not much difference in the way they rated (low) the other three factors. Once again here, the period of arrival and the exposure to the ideologies in the source country, as explained above, may play an important role. Most importantly however, the longer the length of residence the higher the host group vitality – as has been found in a number of studies (Wei, 1994; Fernandez and Clyne, 2007; Hamid, 2011). There is a very low subjective ethnolinguistic vitality assignment for Telugu for all the groups, but the differences are not significant. Similarly, the entire participant group assigned a high positive vitality and attitude score to English. A preliminary assessment of the data above indicates signs of language shift in the second-generation group. In the sections that follow (in this chapter and in Chapter 7), the differences noted



above are explained in greater detail, using the questionnaire and interview analysis, and the findings are further discussed in the light of existing research in the field.

## 6.2 Self-Reported Language Behaviours – Proficiency, Usage and Contact

The remaining part of this chapter is used to discuss the results of the self-reported language behaviours pertaining to participants' proficiency and bilingualism (Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2), their language use in different domains and with interlocutors (Section 6.3.1) and first language (L1) contacts in their social networks (Sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.3).

Firstly, it is to be noted that all questions in the survey, including *language proficiency* discussed below, aimed at understanding only participants' perceptions about their use of Telugu and English. This research project is concerned with the study of the attitudes of Telugu community members in maintaining their language and a Telugu identity. Therefore, the data analysed does not deal with actual language competence. Secondly, the distinction made between language ability (i.e. actual knowledge) and language proficiency (i.e. mastery of the linguistic code) (Wald 1981 cited in Wei, 1992, p.141), in language acquisition studies, is not followed here. This is because the actual language as it is used (i.e. spoken, understood, read or written) by the sample is not measured and remains out of the scope of the present study. Therefore, proficiency here is purely self-perceived, as are all the other survey factors (domain language use, ethnolinguistic vitality and general attitudes).

There were two questions (10a and 10b) in the survey pertaining to the participants' language skills in Telugu and English, as they perceive them to be. In this section, reading and writing skills are noted as *literacy skills* and speaking and understanding are noted as *oracy skills* (based on Lawson and Sachdev, 2004). The participants were asked to rate their self-perceived proficiency on a five-point Likert scale, such as the one given below.

5	4	3	2	1
Excellent	Good	Medium	Low	No skill

A score closer to 5 represents the best rating for a particular skill, and 1 represents no proficiency in that skill at all. Table 6.4 below provides the mean, median, mode and standard deviation scores for the overall group of 109 participants across all the four skills of both the languages. When comparing ordinal scale data of two variables, it is customary to use the median; however, the median of all the Telugu and English skill ordinal questions is 5. Therefore, the mean score is used here to explain the differences between the two languages. This is also an acceptable practice when the median is not conducive to making statistical comparisons (Lund and Lund, 2013).

	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
TPI <sub>Speaking</sub> (n=109)	4.57	5	5	0.85
TPI <sub>Reading</sub> (n=108)	4.09	5	5	1.41
TPI <sub>Writing</sub> (n=107)	3.83	5	5	1.48
TPI <sub>Comprehension</sub> (n=108)	4.73	5	5	0.72
EPI <sub>Speaking</sub> (n=105)	4.39	5	5	0.74
EPI <sub>Reading</sub> (n=105)	4.65	5	5	0.57
EPI <sub>Writing</sub> (n=105)	4.56	5	5	0.63
EPI <sub>Comprehension</sub> (n=105)	4.5	5	5	0.70

Table 6.4: Descriptive statistics of self-reported Telugu and English proficiency

A closer inspection of the Telugu proficiency index (TPI) reveals that TPI<sub>Comprehension</sub> is claimed to be the most proficient skill, followed by TPI<sub>Speaking</sub>, TPI<sub>Reading</sub> and finally TPI<sub>Writing</sub>. This is a common phenomenon in LMLS studies where comprehension (or the listening aspect) is often rated higher than the other four skills (cf. Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Hamid, 2005). A considerable number reported having no *reading* (n=12) and *writing* (n=15) skills in Telugu (see Appendix 9a). Unlike Telugu, English proficiency (EPI) has been rated more evenly across all skills – mean scores are greater than 4.35 and only two out of the 109 participants gave a rating of less than 2. As other research studies in South Asian LMLS show (for example, Sridhar, 1988; Prabhakaran, 1991; Hamid, 2011), oracy skills in the HL are rated higher than literacy skills. Papapavlou and Pavlou (2001, p.97), who found similar results with the Cypriot-Greek community, explain that this difference is because ‘written language is a learned and skill and is more rule-governed.’ This, and the fact that Telugu is orthographically quite distant from the dominant language, explains why literacy skills are rated so low.

This begs the question; why should literacy skills in English be higher than in Telugu? One reason is that this study included second-generation participants who have had little to no exposure to the Telugu language and script at school or at home (more of this in Section 6.2.1). However, it has been shown in Section 6.1.6 that even the first generation rated their Telugu skills slightly lower than English. It has been noted in Chapter 2 (2.5.2) that most Telugu people who migrate abroad are highly educated, even while in India. Many of them, who secure highly-skilled jobs, need to prove their English language skills through tests (Bhaskar and Bhatt, 2007). Knowledge of English is essential, as it is the only way to get a technical qualification in India (Pingali, 2009). Therefore, it is not surprising to find such high proficiency in HL and DL, as pre-immigration experience of bilingualism (Kloss, 1969) is expected of them. Therefore, oracy skills in Telugu are rated better than literacy skills, mainly because there is no great need to use Telugu in the UK and therefore no reason to use it in writing. Moreover, a majority of the participants have technical degrees,

which mean that English was their sole medium when going through higher education, due to the functional load it carries in India (Pandharipande, 1992) in the field of science and technology.

A short report on the 33 interviewed participants' medium of education is presented in appendix 9b. This report shows that only 21% (n=5) of the participants studied in schools where Telugu was the primary medium of education, whereas 45.4% (n=15) read Telugu as one subject, while English was their primary medium of education. As mentioned above none of the second-generation participants ever studied Telugu formally. However, all of them (first and second generations) know and do use English literacy (reading and writing) skills more often than their heritage language. The higher utility value of English (Coulmas, 2013, p.182), as well as the practice of using it more frequently in the UK, could have led to the higher rating for English. This rating is also reminiscent of subtractive bilingualism (see Section 3.3.3), i.e. learning/using another language leading to repertoire depletion (Edward, 2012), as opposed to its expansion. This is a sign of language shift, but, whether acquiring literary skills in Telugu would really lead to language maintenance or not is discussed in more detail in the following section.

### 6.2.1 Bilingual Proficiency of the Second Generation (G2)

Is the second generation actively bilingual? This is an important question to consider because language maintenance is about habitual language use, and to recall Edward's (1997) argument (see Section 3.2.1) *speaking* a language habitually is a crucial aspect to consider. Table 6.5 shows the scores of the two generations by skill. The most notable points here are: the first generation rated all their skills over 4 on the Likert scale. The second generation, on the other hand, rated comprehension (4.25) as their best skill, but their literacy skills are rated less than 2 (low on the scale). The graph (Figure 6.1), clearly shows that their Telugu proficiency is much lower than the first-generation group, especially with respect to literacy skills. If not in entirety, a predominantly passive bilingual competence is suggested in the data.

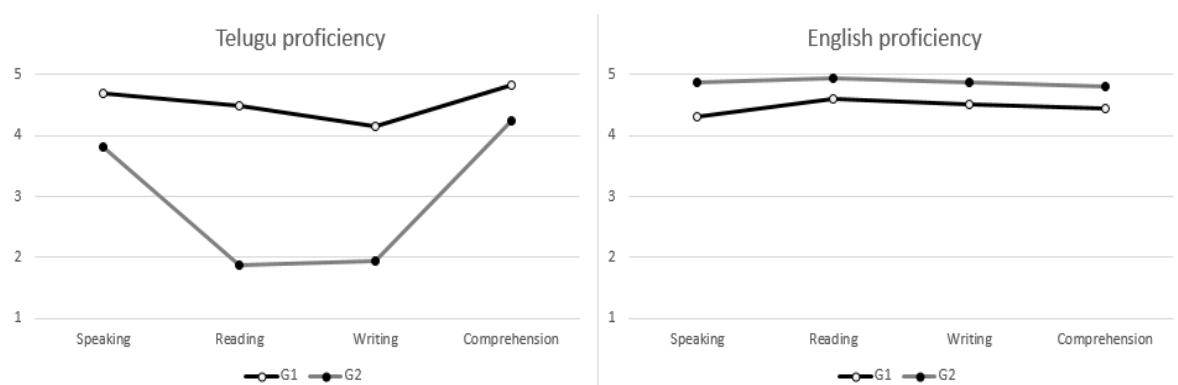


Figure 6. 1: Telugu and English skills of the first and second generation

	TPI <sub>Speaking</sub>	TPI <sub>Reading</sub>	TPI <sub>Writing</sub>	TPI <sub>Comprehension</sub>	EPI <sub>Speaking</sub>	EPI <sub>Reading</sub>	EPI <sub>Writing</sub>	EPI <sub>Comprehension</sub>
G1 Mean	4.70	4.48	4.16	4.82	4.30	4.60	4.51	4.45
G1 SD	0.70	0.96	1.18	0.61	0.76	0.60	0.66	0.70
G2 Mean	3.81	1.88	1.94	4.25	4.88	4.94	4.88	4.81
G2 SD	1.22	1.50	1.57	1.06	0.34	0.25	0.34	0.54

Table 6. 5: Telugu and English language skills by generation: mean scores of Likert scale data

During the fieldwork, the second-generation participants of Wave 2 were observed to be conversant in Telugu, whereas the second-generation participants of Wave 1 preferred to speak in English, although they could comprehend questions posed in Telugu. The following interview excerpts exemplify this observation.

A second-generation participant from Wave 1 (UK-born participants):

AY: I've been asking you questions in Telugu and you are able to understand them so well?

P1: Yeah, I feel I can understand but we have never formally learnt the accent or put a sentence together properly. I understand more than I speak I suppose.

A second-generation participant from Wave 2 (India-born participants):

AY: *I madhya Indiaki eppudu vellāru?* (When did you last visit India?)

P105: *nēnu 2010 lo vellānu* (I was there in 2010)

P106: *nēnu last year lo vellānu* (I was there last year)

P107: *aidellaindi nēnu indiaki velli* (It has been five years since I last visited India)

This pattern of communication in the interviews was consistent. It must be noted that all Wave 1 second-generation participants were UK born and all Wave 2 second-generation participants were India born (see Section 5.3.1), whose mean age of arrival (AoA) is 10.5 years (min = 4; max = 16). They possibly had more exposure to Telugu than their Wave 1 counterparts. The critical period of language acquisition is usually considered to be before the teen years (Agar, 1991). This appears to be the main reason for the differences observed between the UK- and India-born participants, because the latter, due to their experience of living in India at a young age, had more input from the HL.

Studies in LMLS mainly concern themselves with *speaking* as the primary aspect of language use (Clyne, 2003) and maintenance. By definition, it is certainly the most important aspect, and a loss of speaking skill, in spite of passive (comprehension only) competence may be clear-cut evidence of a language shift (Edwards, 2004). However, for languages with scripts that are different from English – for example, Arabic, Chinese, Korean, and Indian languages such as Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, etc. – literacy skills may play an important role in language maintenance, as they enable learners to access their cultural resources (Clyne, 2003).

However, it is not an easy task to teach such varied scripts without formal institutional support. Against this background, both generations were asked to share their opinions about acquiring literacy skills in their HL. The interview observations revealed mixed reactions towards this point, as in the following case where a second-generation (Wave 2) participant felt embarrassed about not knowing how to read and write Telugu:

P8: I am embarrassed that I can't read and write.

AY: You're embarrassed?

P8: Yeah ... I'm definitely embarrassed. I tried a couple of times but I failed miserably.

AY: Why would you want to learn (to read and write)?

P8: See when I go to India and attend (cultural) meetings everything is in Telugu and I don't understand what it is all about.

The motivation to learn HL skills in the above case is clearly integrative (Gardner and Lambert, 1972), as the need is to belong to the group and culture when she travels to India. P8 is an outlier in this study, as she is the only second-generation participant who is more fluent in Telugu than the others, despite moving to the UK as a ten year old. Her brother (not interviewed) is also very fluent and they both speak in a mid-central Telugu dialect, which is often referred to in Telugu as *toorpu yasa* (eastern variety). At the same time, their English is reminiscent of what is typically referred to as a multicultural London accent.<sup>29</sup> This family reported using only Telugu at home although it is not a conscious decision. A detailed analysis of the patterns of language use is presented in Section 6.3.1 (see comments of P3, the father). Additionally, the kinship relations with India are quite strong for P8 and their travel to India is quite frequent. As Mu (2014) observes the habitus (or environment) that a person is exposed to will determine the level of interest they have towards their heritage language. In this study, Mu (ibid.) found that those Chinese second-generation participants who had the necessary exposure to their heritage language and culture exhibited stronger, more favourable attitudes towards them.

However, not everyone shared a similar enthusiasm for literacy skills, as in the following example:

AY: Do you know to read and write Telugu?

P103 and P104: (Indicate no)

AY: Would you like to learn?

P103: Not really.

AY: Why?

P103: Not sure. I think speaking is more important than reading and writing. Yeah.

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<sup>29</sup> Although this study is not about language variety or variation, this is an important observation, because it is surprising that the children acquired their mother's Telugu dialect (the father being from a different region in Andhra Pradesh). I do acknowledge that this is only a superficial observation as it does not arise from a phonological analysis.

The opinion expressed by P103 shows that there is no motivation to learn literacy skills and that P103 considers speaking skills to be enough. It is interesting to note that while some parents (P2 and P6 and P26) could teach their children to write their names in Telugu, others (P28) said that they are happy if they can speak or even just understand it.

Reading and writing are viewed as advanced skills and require higher effort to teach (Sridhar, 1988), which can only be learnt formally, probably in school. A participant narrated a similar experience when asked about teaching his son about reading and writing Telugu:

AY: Do you want to just teach him to speak or do you want to extend it to writing and reading also in the future?

P65: I am only thinking of speaking. If I have to sit down and teach him to write Telugu, all that is difficult.

Sridhar (ibid.) found that parents gave up teaching their children to read and write Kannada as it was a very difficult and time-consuming task. But, do literacy skills really help in the maintenance of a language? Fishman (1972, p.113) observes they 'may help resist shift longer than speaking'. However, Telugu has a different script from English, which means acquiring literacy skills in Telugu in an informal environment could be a challenge, as shown above. Such situations could lead to LS, for example Clyne (2003) in his macro-analysis of language shift in migrant communities of Australia comments on the Chinese writing system as a probable contributor to shift from the heritage language. At this point, there is a lack of research on the role of literacy in minority language maintenance in English-speaking countries.

As a new dimension to literacy skills, *Tenglish*, discussed in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.2.3), which is the transliteration of Telugu literary works into customised Roman script, could be a possible way forward for Telugu children to have access to the wealth of literature and information that is available in the Telugu language. Romanising the Telugu script to accommodate passive bilinguals is just one way of giving young people access to Telugu literature. However, such experiments are still in their nascent stages and may take some time before being considered as tools for language maintenance.

Having established that literacy is a higher and a more difficult skill to attain for the second generation, it is important to understand whether there is another middle ground. Are second-generation people able to use specific Telugu words in their everyday communication? Are there any kinship words used in their family environments? Is there a thread of culture that connects them to their language? Research conducted on Telugus in other areas, such as South Africa (Prabhakaran, 1991), also shows a strong connection between language and culture, especially with items such as food, kinship terms, etc.

During the interviews with second-generation participants, they were given a simple activity of naming pictures and symbols related to Telugu culture. This activity does not claim to have a sound methodological grounding in psycholinguistics or language attrition studies, but the intention was to understand if they are able to associate with this vocabulary in Telugu. Therefore, this is just a quasi-experiment intended to understand a specific outcome in the exploration process (Brown, 2004). In this discussion it is important to note that second-generation participants from Wave 1 and Wave 2 are referred to as UK-born and India-born participants, respectively.

A series of pictures (see Appendix 8C) and symbols consisting of vegetables, fruits, food items (also representing the five tastes: sweet, bitter, hot, sour and bland<sup>30</sup>), household utensils and animals found in the Telugu culture were shown to the intended participants, and they were asked to name the Telugu equivalents. They were also asked to give the Telugu equivalents for the days of the week and a few random numbers. It must be made clear that, in order to be able to say an item was readily identified it had to be said quickly without the need for prompting.

Among all the words given, *vankāya* (eggplant), *māmidī* (mango), *jāma* (guava), *sītaph<sup>h</sup>alam* (Indian custard apple) and *annam* (cooked rice) were more readily identified than any other words. Surprisingly, even the most popular pickles, *āvakāya* and *gōngūra* (see Section 2.4.4 for their importance in Telugu cuisine culture), needed more prompting, because some participants (P1 and P33) said they do not use them at home, suggesting a shift from customs that are quintessentially Telugu.

Pictures of *aloo* (potato) and *laddu* (a popular sweet) got the quickest responses because they are popular in overall Indian cuisine, but not quintessentially Telugu. Therefore, it is not surprising that they were identified without any difficulty. The following comments by P1 (UK born) show why food items were readily recognised, but not the other aspects:

P1: But it's through hearing people, seeing people, talking or maybe helping with the cooking. So, if I help mum with the cooking a lot of the food stuff, because of ... I probably didn't know but I recognise the names when you said it ... you know. Yeah ... but animals and the colours...the colours I just don't ... I would never have picked it up ... cause we didn't formally learn it. If we formally learnt Telugu then we'd learn all these things but ... yeah.

AY: Do you understand Telugu jokes?

P1: No, not really ... I can't understand when they use colloquial words.

Additionally, when asked about understanding humour in the heritage language, he (P1) shared his inability to do so. This was commonly expressed by the UK-born second-

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<sup>30</sup> Why are these tastes important? The famous ugādi pacchadi of the Telugu culture is a mixture of six tastes (*shadruchulu*) signifying the different emotions of life, such as sweet, bitter, sour, salt, hot and astringent (in Telugu: *tīpi*, *cēdu*, *pulupu*, *uppu*, *kāram* and *vagaru*). This has been slightly modified for the test.

generation participants. Romaine (2013) in defining group membership of passive bilinguals notes that the understanding of the shared norms, including humour, is a characteristic of belonging to the in-group. From a proficiency point of view, it has already been shown that the second generation of Wave 1 can understand Telugu (as observed in the interviews) but cannot use it habitually, which indicates language shift. However, there is some familiarity with respect to the cultural aspects, such as food and kinship terms. In the interviews they all referred to their relatives using Telugu equivalents (see Section 6.3.3 for more discussion).

A few India-born second-generation participants could progress to identifying some of the tastes and days of the week, which the UK-born participants could not. One participant (P103) could recite a long list of Telugu names for vegetables and articles before even seeing any of the pictures, indicating a regular exposure to these basic words, probably in the home domain. Here is an example where the outlier discussed above (P8) attempted to say the days of the week, which she did, almost successfully:

P8: I am terrible with this. Umm ... I can recite them *but I don't know what's what. (laughs)* ... *uhmm mangalavāram*, *sukrāram*, *uhmm ... budhavāram*, *uhm ... (two seconds)* *sanivāram*, *ādivāram* (three seconds) *sukruvāram* (two seconds) I am missing one *soma varam* ... yeah ... [Tuesday, Friday, Wednesday, Saturday, Sunday, I am missing one ...Monday].

To summarise the findings of this exercise, it could be gauged that items typical of Telugu cuisine (eggplant and cooked rice) – which they are exposed to at home – and fruits that are specific to the Telugu region and exotic to the UK (mango, guava, custard apple) – which they may have been exposed to through visits to India – were easy to recollect quickly. Familiarity with the celebrated Telugu dishes (*gōngūra* and *āvakāya*) depends on their household food habits, and the UK-born participants in particular could not identify them because their food habits are not typically Telugu. Items that have a pan-Indian popularity (*laddu* and *aloo*) breed more familiarity and finally, only those born in India could quickly identify aspects that were beyond food.

This exercise also brings forth the issue of compound and coordinate bilingualism (Weinreich, 1953; Fishman, 1972), where the languages are interdependent in compound bilingualism and independent in coordinate bilingualism (Romaine, 1995, p.79). Only words describing objects that are rarely seen in their environs and experienced via travel, such as guava (*jāma*) and custard apple (*sītāphal*), received responses akin to coordinate lexical association, that is, the identification with these objects was greater in Telugu than in English. For most other words, the supply of English words was readily available and needed a bit more prodding to be said in Telugu, which shows a compound lexical association, but predominantly towards English. However, I acknowledge that these



results could be different in another setting if the cognitive activation of Telugu is predominant, for example, during their travels to India.

### 6.2.2 Perceived Child Language Proficiency and Attitudes

What parents think about their children's attitudes towards Telugu and English is a crucial factor to consider in assessing the LMLS situation in the community. In Part 5 of the survey (see Appendix 7) those participants with children were asked to give their observations and opinions about their children's abilities and attitudes pertaining to Telugu and English. In Table 6.6 below, the overall scores of the parent group's perceptions about their children's language are presented (the full data set about child language perceptions can be found in Appendix 9C; only the key statistics are discussed here). The rationale behind this question was to understand the parents' perceptions of their children's HL-DL bilingual ability (active or passive) and acculturative behaviours. If the score is closer to 5, this means the parents said that their child possesses all the four skills in that language, and a score of 1 means no skills at all. Overall, the children were perceived to have more *proficiency* in English (4.25) than in Telugu (2.71). The same can be said of *regard* as well – however, the difference is smaller. All these differences are not statistically significant when tested against the two waves.

The rating suggests that most parents thought that their children can only understand Telugu and speak a little, showing a perception of *passive bilingualism* in favour of English. Similarly, they perceive them to have better regard for English than for their HL.

Telugu proficiency	English proficiency	Regard for Telugu	Regard for English
Mean = 2.71	4.25	3.54	4.39
SD = 0.57	0.82	1.01	0.68

Table 6.6: Parents' perceptions of children's language proficiency and regard

This passive bilingualism is more pronounced among the second generation of Wave 1. Along with some other parents, P28 explains how her children can only understand and not speak Telugu, and interestingly, points out how that affected the relationship with their grandparents:

P28: They (the children) can understand, but can't speak, can't read, can't write. With me, my husband, my mother and father they always speak English. But with my mother-in-law and father-in-law, they can't speak the language, so...they don't speak (laughs).

In the case of P28's family, their experience of English-Telugu bilingualism before moving to the UK has led to English being used even in the home domain. This is quite contrary to the claim that the pluralistic nature of Indian society and widespread bilingualism helps to maintain Indian people's languages outside their home states and country (Sridhar, 1989). Although she (P28) spoke Telugu with her husband, the children could only understand it. Moreover, because they came from a family who were highly educated in English, even

the grandparents' generation spoke in English. Haugen (1953) states that where the parents are HL-DL bilinguals, as in the case of P28, and if they use the dominant language at home, LS is a natural outcome as the child grows up in a compound bilingual environment (Fishman, 1972).

Grandparental generations are usually considered key to language transmission, due to their HL mono-lingualism (cf Sridhar, 1988; Mesthrie, 1992; Clyne, 2003). However, some first-generation participants from Wave 1 reported not being in a position to transmit Telugu to their grandchildren, primarily because they do not live in extended families in the way they did in India:

AY: Do your grandchildren speak Telugu?

P2: ledandi (no they don't) some words...which we taught them but they use English at home.

In some cases, as in P8's family (the outlier discussed above), where there is more exposure to Telugu at home, such usage is more out of necessity than a conscious decision. P2 (P8's father) shares his experience of speaking Telugu at home:

P2: *chirāku* nakasalu (intlo) English lo mātlādālante...adokalā untadi (I feel quite queasy about speaking in English (at home)...it feels out of place.

It is interesting to note that the domain separation for language use is very clear in this family's case. Such a separation is considered conducive to language maintenance, at least in the home domain (Fishman, 1964; 1972). However, in other cases, even though parents make a conscious effort to speak to their children in Telugu, the children respond to them only in English. This has been observed in many settings, such as home and at social events, etc. during the fieldwork. The following conversation with P4 and P5 exemplifies a situation where the child shifted to passive bilingualism after starting school:

P5: ... I try not to use even a single English word with her. Even he (father) does not.

P4: No.

P5: But I don't know, since she started school she only speaks in English.

P4: (Name of the son) speaks very well.

P5: He was born in India and speaks (Telugu) well.

Monolingual children shifting to English after starting school were also observed among London Bangla community members (Rasinger, 2012). Having met this family (P4 and P5) a few times and attended other events with them, I can say that they only use Telugu to converse with their children. However, they are not able to understand why their daughter (five years of age) does not want to speak Telugu, but their son (15 years old) is keen. Apparently, their son arrived in the UK at the age of five, but the daughter was born in the UK. The son can speak Telugu fluently (observed personally in my informal interactions) as he is active in church events, and being a musician he also has to learn

songs in Telugu. It has been said in the earlier section (6.2.1) that the India-born second generation seems to have more HL-DL bilingual competence than those born in the UK. Additionally, a regular contact with other Telugu community members (dense social network) (Milroy, 1987) has contributed towards such competence and covert prestige (Trudgill, 1972) (see Section 6.3.2).

So far the analysis and discussion has shown language proficiency aspects focusing primarily on the second-generation participants. It becomes clear that the passive bilingual proficiency of the Wave 1 second-generation group is conducive to language shift, challenging the classic three-generation LS pattern described by Haugen (1953). Primacy is given to speaking skills, due to the difficulty of acquiring literacy skills in a migrant setting. However, even acquiring speaking skills is a challenge for those born in the UK and belonging to Wave 1. The recently arrived second-generation participants are able to use Telugu at least in the home domain, due to learning their heritage language at a very young age. There is a concern among some parents that, even though Telugu is spoken at home, children are shifting to English after starting school. Similar concerns have been voiced in other studies, especially those conducted in South Asian communities (Sridhar, 1988; Hamid, 2011). In the next section, the other main factor of the study is discussed.

### 6.3 Domain Language Use

It was shown in 6.1 that, based on the domain index scores (TDI and EDI), English is the dominant language of the participants. In this section, language use in different domains and social networks is discussed with the help of more data and observations.

Firstly, *language exposure domains* ( $DI_{\text{Exposure}}$ ) is exposure to functions such as reading, writing and entertainment. Secondly, language use in the *speech domains* ( $DI_{\text{Speech}}$ ) is language used at home, work/school, neighbourhood and friendship (or social) networks (see questions 11 and 12 in Appendix 7). It is to be noted that the reading and writing variables in this section are different from those in the language proficiency section, in that the question is about the *temporality* (how often) not the *ability* (how well). *Reading* refers to exposure to newspapers, magazines, reading for leisure etc., and *writing* refers to opportunities to use Telugu script (*Brahmi*) to write (or type). *Media* here does not mean TV and radio alone, but it also includes using the internet, watching films, etc.

As before, participants were asked to rate their exposure to these domains on a five-point Likert scale for each language (see Table 6.7). (Please note: TDI stands for Telugu domain index and EDI for English domain index).

5	4	3	2	1
Very frequently	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never

		Mean	Median	Mode	SD
TDI <sub>Exposure</sub>	TDI <sub>Read</sub>	3.57	4	5	1.55
	TDI <sub>Write</sub>	2.52	2	1	1.46
	TDI <sub>Media</sub>	4.14	5	5	1.19
TDI <sub>Speech</sub>	TDI <sub>Home</sub>	4.58	5	5	0.95
	TDI <sub>Work</sub>	1.78	1	1	1.13
	TDI <sub>Neighbourhood</sub>	2.8	3	1	1.61
	TDI <sub>Friendship</sub>	3.86	4	5	1.29
EDI <sub>Exposure</sub>	EDI <sub>Read</sub>	4.55	5	5	0.69
	EDI <sub>Write</sub>	4.55	5	5	0.82
	EDI <sub>Media</sub>	4.22	5	5	1.02
EDI <sub>Speech</sub>	EDI <sub>Home</sub>	3.28	3	3	1.27
	EDI <sub>Work</sub>	4.87	5	5	0.51
	EDI <sub>Neighbourhood</sub>	4.41	5	5	0.97
	EDI <sub>Friendship</sub>	4.12	4	5	1.03

Table 6.7: Descriptive statistics of self-reported Telugu and English domain language use

In the *speech* domains, TDI<sub>Home</sub> is most positively rated for Telugu (mean = 4.58; median = 5). 78% of the participants said that they use Telugu very frequently (rating = 5) and only 5.5% said that they rarely or never use Telugu at home. This shows that Telugu is still extensively used in the home domain; however, this is an overall group score. English pretty much dominates all the other domains except the home domain (mean = 3.28). Even in the home domain 30% of the participants said that they use English sometimes (3), followed by very frequently (21%) and frequently (20%). 41% of the participants rated English on the positive side of the scale. Of all the Telugu and English domains, EDI<sub>Work</sub> has the highest mean score (4.88) and TDI<sub>Work</sub> has the lowest (1.78). This is not surprising considering the functional load and transparency (Pandharipande, 1992) that English has in the UK. This also suggests that either the participants' interaction with other Telugus is rare in the work domain, or that English alone is used.

In the *exposure* domains of Telugu usage, TDI<sub>Media</sub> has the highest score (mean = 4.14; median = 5) followed by reading (3.57). The participants, especially the first generation, have been noted to read Telugu newspapers online as well as to watch Telugu TV channels and films. Although some participants contribute to articles in Telugu association publications (eg. UKTA or TAL magazines), the need for written Telugu is minimal. Therefore, it is not surprising to see TDI<sub>Write</sub> having the lowest score of 2.52. In comparison English is used in day-to-day functioning for speaking, reading and writing as well as media use.

## Domain Language Use and Generations

For the first-generation group, the home domain is Telugu-dominant with a mean score of 4.68 (very frequent use), followed by the friendship domain (3.98) (see Table 6.8 below). For the second, both English and Telugu are reported as being used frequently, with a mean score of 4 each. The work domain is almost English-only for both groups. The neighbourhood and friendship domains too are English-dominant ( $< 4$ ) for both groups, although the first generation reported more use of Telugu in the latter (3.98). All these differences are statistically significant (Mann-Whitney,  $p=0.002$ ). This data shows that there is no language shift in the home domain; however, the discussion that follows will show that the use of Telugu among the second-generation group, especially those from Wave 1, is mostly passive.

	TDI <sub>Home</sub>	TDI <sub>Work</sub>	TDI <sub>Neighbourhood</sub>	TDI <sub>Friendship</sub>
Telugu				
G1	4.68	1.90	2.94	3.98
G2	4.00	1.13	2.06	3.19
Total	4.58	1.78	2.80	3.86
English				
G1	3.16	4.87	4.38	4.07
G2	4.00	4.86	4.62	4.43
Total	3.28	4.87	4.41	4.12

Table 6.8: Domain language use of first (G1) and second (G2) generations

### 6.3.1 Patterns of Language Use

Language use among the family members, colleagues, friends and neighbours of those who were interviewed is presented below. This was not included in the survey because the size of the interlocutor-participant grid-type question had discouraged responsiveness when the questionnaire was first rolled out. Moreover, some participants reported being confused about the options, such as 'equally in English and Telugu', as they normally code-switch between the two languages. Canagarajah (2008) also reported such issues during fieldwork. Therefore, this question was only used with the participants who were met for the interview.

Many of the participants are from nuclear families, which consist of an adult male, an adult female and a maximum of two children. Based on the family size, data pertaining only to the members they interact with in the UK has been presented (Table 6.9). The scale used is as follows:

5	4	3	2	1
Only in Telugu	More in Telugu	Equally in Tel and Eng	More in English	Only in English

The first generation has a mean score of closer to 3 (equally in Telugu and English). The second generation has a score closer to 1 (only in English), which is indicative of language shift. These differences in mean scores between the two generations are significant ( $p\text{-value} = 0.000$ ). However, when the second generation was asked about which language they spoke to their parents (see Table 6.10), many of them said *equally in Telugu and English* and the same was reported for the language used by their parents. With the grandparents, who they spoke to when visiting India, it was *equally in English and Telugu* but for understanding when their grandparents spoke to them it was *more in Telugu*. Compare this with the discussion in the earlier section where some second-generation participants were reported as not being able to speak in Telugu with their grandparents. This data is not presented for the first-generation group due to the absence of their parents' or grandparents' generation living in the UK.

In summary, it can be said that the language use ranges between *only English* to *equally in Telugu and English*. The first-generation group certainly are using more Telugu in their roles and relationships, but not very extensively or exclusively. The second-generation group are not using Telugu except with their parents' generation. However, observing language usage behaviours, such as code-switching, diglossia and register, is not within the scope of the current study. Therefore, it cannot be ascertained what exactly language use here means. This requires a different observational methodology, such as studying recorded conversations, to understand linguistic variation in different domains.

Relation	First Generation (n=23)		Second Generation (n=10)	
	By participant	By interlocutor	By participant	By interlocutor
Colleagues	1.90	1.69	1.33	1.70
Friends	3.30	3.04	1.17	1.45
Children	3.30	3.00	Not applicable	Not applicable
Neighbours	2.30	2.60	1.17	1.00
Partner	4.23	4.20	2.00	1.00
Mean	3.01	2.91	1.41	1.29

Table 6.9: Patterns of language use of the interviewed participants

To father	To mother	To grandparents	By father	By mother	By grandparents
2.8	2.6	3.4	3	3	3.9

Table 6.10: G2 language use with elders

It has been shown in 6.2.1 that Wave 2 second-generation participants have more than just passive competence. Not only that, but also they use Telugu in the home domain. The following example shows how they find that using any language other than Telugu at home seems inappropriate.

P105: *ma daddy ekkuva intlo telugu ge matladataru. Intlo telugu lekapote hindi.* (my father talks only in Telugu. At home it is either Telugu or Hindi) English is not allowed in the house.

Int: *mee intlo kooda* (in your house too).

P105: Complete ban.

P107: *maa intlo kaadu...*(not in my house) but I just speak Telugu. I don't like speaking to them in English.

P106: You when you are like with your parents you are like...TALK IN TELUGU!!!

Int: Why don't you like speaking to them in English?

P106: *intlo unnappudu natural ga telugostundi* (at home Telugu flows naturally).

It can be gauged from the conversation that in P105's house speaking in Telugu is a matter of compulsion, but in P107's house it is a matter of comfort. Whatever may be the case, they are able to converse in Telugu in spite of moving to the UK at a very young age. It has been shown in the previous section how some participants – such as the family of P2, P7 and P8, and the family of P4 and P5 – use only Telugu at home. It may be said that both these families exemplify the domain language use of the Wave 2 group. In the case of Wave 1, for example, the family of P1, P28 and P32 and that of P1 and P6 speak to their spouses in Telugu, but in English with the children. Although it can be said that the Wave 2 group are using their heritage language at home, it cannot be guaranteed that their children are actively bilingual speakers (see P4 and P5's comments in Section 6.2.2 on English entering the home after the children start school). In the literature review in Chapter 3, it has been argued that the reasons attributed to variables such as gender, length of residence, generation, etc., can only be better understood by taking social network contacts into consideration. To recap, the 'how' that is missing from Fishman's (1965, p.67) famous rhetoric, '*who speaks what language to whom and when*', is answered by the contacts the participants have. Milroy (1987) argues that the overt or covert prestige one gives the languages in one's repertoire depends on who one is interacting with, but not the other way round.

### 6.3.2 L1 Contacts

Question 16 in the survey asked the participants to indicate how many of their friends and acquaintances in the UK have Telugu (L1<sub>Tel</sub>) or English (L1<sub>Eng</sub>) as their first language (L1) on a four-point Likert scale. The summary statistics are presented in Table 6.11 below. The mean of both L1<sub>Tel</sub> and L1<sub>Eng</sub> contacts is 3, which corresponds to *many* on the Likert scale. The mode of Telugu is 3 as opposed to 2 for English, which shows that most

participants said that they have *many* Telugu speakers, whereas the same for English is a *few*.

To understand if this is consistent across all the wave and generation (W/G) groups the data is analysed further with the help of non-parametric tests. The results (in percentages) are also presented in Table 6.11. The distribution of mean ranks of L1<sub>Tel</sub> is not the same across the categories of W/G ( $p = .042$ ) and similarly for L1<sub>Eng</sub> ( $p = .000$ ), which means that these differences are significant.

		Mean		Median	Mode	Minimum	Maximum		
Overall L1 <sub>Tel</sub> contacts		3		3	3	1	4		
Overall L1 <sub>Eng</sub> contacts		3		3	2	1	4		
Wave/Generation		Most		Many		A few		None	
		L1 <sub>Tel</sub>	L1 <sub>Eng</sub>	L1 <sub>Tel</sub>	L1 <sub>Eng</sub>	L1 <sub>Tel</sub>	L1 <sub>Eng</sub>	L1 <sub>Tel</sub>	L1 <sub>Eng</sub>
G1	W1G1 (n=7)	57%	57%	0	28.5%	28.5%	14.3%	14.3%	0
	W2WAVE 2G1(n=86)	41%	18.5%	43%	26%	15%	44.4%	1%	11%
G2	W1G2 (n=5)	0	60%	80%	40%	20%	0	0	0
	W2G2 (n=11)	18%	64%	18%	18%	64%	18%	0	0

Table 6.11: Self-reported L1 contacts in the social network

(Note that W2G1 number for L1<sub>Eng</sub> is 81; not all the 86 participants responded to this question)

### *Second Generation's Social Network*

The social network of the second generation consists mainly of the L1<sub>Eng</sub> (Wave 1 = 100% and Wave 2 = 82%) when the options *most* and *many* are combined. Interestingly, the Wave 1 second-generation group reported having many L1<sub>Tel</sub> contacts (80%); however, fieldwork reveals that this is mainly because of familial interactions, but the language use in these domains is English, as exemplified by P1 below:

AY: Do you have any Telugu friends in the UK?

P1: Yes, I told you about (P33) and her family... our families know each other.

AY: Do you speak in Telugu to them?

P1: Unfortunately not. We always spoke English even as children.

The other participant (P33) is married to a Telugu person, again from a family in her social network, and said that she uses Telugu at home. However, as seen in P1's comments above, her language use in the friendship network appears to be English. My interaction with her was by phone and email, and therefore I could not ascertain more details either on proficiency, domain use or social network, except for the fact that she was more



comfortable talking to me in English. P32 also said that he has no Telugus in his social network, except for family members (his brother (P1) and mother (P28)). My social interactions with P1 and P32 on several occasions revealed that their close friendship group consists of mainly native-British speakers who they have known for many years, either from work or school. However, interactions with just three Wave 2 second-generation participants may not provide sufficient evidence to claim that this group is assimilated into British society.

A similar trend has also been observed among the Wave 2 second generation's social network. This is that their connections with Telugus are based on their familial social network only. At school, college or work they reported no contact with Telugus. In close-knit networks, they did report having multiple contacts with Telugus of their own age group. However, Telugu language use among them is only occasional and sometimes strategic, that is, as a means to exclude others (also known as *divergence*, cf. Giles et al., 1973), as in the examples below. (Please note: P103 and 104 were from the Feltham group, and P105 and P106 were from a different focus group conducted during the Bathukamma event in October 2014):

P103: We three meet very regularly.

P104: Yeah, we play tennis on Wednesdays.

P103: Yeah...we used to meet twice a week earlier but now it's just Wednesdays.

AY: Do you use Telugu between each other when you go out?

P103: Yeah...yeah...yeah...We were in (place name inaudible) last month...and like the lady was trying to tell me something that was happening...but I couldn't say it because (inaudible...) so I'm like *vinnava*? Blah blah blah... and we started laughing, so yeah...

P106: We choose...if someone's there and I don't want to say something (collective laughter) I tell her (in Telugu)...So they (others) don't (understand).

AY: So you do that.

P105: It somehow happens...like departmental stores.

In all the examples mentioned above, it can be seen that having Telugus (of the same age group) does not really lead to Telugu language maintenance because the main language of communication is still English. The strategic use of Telugu among friends is a very interesting point that emerges here, which is similar to what Canagarajah (2013) noticed among the second-generation Tamils.

#### *Wave 1 First Generation's Social Network*

When the positive options *most* and *many* are combined the first-generation early arrivals (Wave 1) have fewer L1<sub>Tel</sub> contacts (57%), in contrast to the native English speakers

(85.5%). Field observations confirm this trend and so does the interview data, as exemplified in the comments of P6 below:

P6: Most of my friends are English. She (P2) has even more. My work colleagues were all English. We used to meet Telugu friends very rarely. But for her...she has English friends in the neighbourhood because of her writer's group etc.

Such social networks are quite common to the Wave 1 group, not just in London, but also in other locations. This is especially true when they are in highly-skilled employment. Due to such conditions, some participants reported more use of English in their daily lives than Telugu. For those who arrived even earlier in the 1960s, living in London was a very different experience, as they did not even have friends who were Indian, let alone Telugu. For example, P25 shared his experience of living in London in the late 60s and early 70s, and how that contributed to the increase in the L1Eng network:

P25: Once I came to this country, for the first few years of my life I was completely cut off from any kind of you know Indians so to say. I lived among the Irish and the English people, so much so I started thinking and dreaming in English.

As De Bot and Clyne (1994 cited in Yagmur, 1997, p.16) report, 'those immigrants who manage to maintain their language in the first years of their stay in the new environment are likely to remain fluent speakers of their first language'. P25 (aged 78) is an outlier among the Wave 1 participants. His time of arrival was very different from the rest. He came at a time when subjects of the Commonwealth were allowed into Britain, with employment vouchers issued at source. This was before the Immigration Act of 1968, which further restricted the entry of Commonwealth citizens. Although the Indian community in general was present in the UK, the denser social network structures were restricted to certain areas, such as Southall in West London (Sharma, 2011). P25 is also an outlier in another sense – he can read, write and understand Telugu well but does not speak it any more. His reason for not doing so is simply because he finds it embarrassing to speak in Telugu, even to his sister in the UK, as he currently resides in a Hindi-dominant social network. Having grown up in Chattisgarh (unified Bihar at that time) he only spoke Hindi in his friendship network. However, he learnt Telugu both at home and at school and is proficient in literary skills to this day. He made it clear that he cannot speak Telugu fluently and also finds it awkward to use it amongst people who do not understand the language. When asked why he does not speak Telugu with his sister (P26) or me, he said that he was afraid of being laughed at. P25 is the only case where *language attrition*<sup>31</sup> was observed within the person's lifetime.

It has already been discussed that the Wave 1 group also reported less proficiency in Telugu (TPI = 0.71) compared to English (EPI = 0.91) and more use of the latter in their

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<sup>31</sup> Language attrition is defined as the gradual loss of language within the lifetime of an individual or a generation (Crystal, 2008).

domains of interaction (TDI = 0.47 vs EDI = 0.86). Having fewer Telugu contacts explains the limited use in the domains. It must also be noted that many of the Wave 1 first-generation participants I met have retired and live with their partners. Their socialising with Telugus is limited, except those who play an important role in community events (for example, Telugu associations often consult P2 and P37 for their guidance).

This trend of non-cohesive settlement of the early arrivals in a way explains why there is language shift in their children's generation. Their children, being born and educated in the UK, grew up with virtually no Telugu social networks except for their parents at home. It was also discussed earlier that compound bilingual usage at home has led to both English and Telugu being used in the home domain. Even though complete language attrition is not the case with the Wave 1 first-generation group, it appears that a *weak maintenance*<sup>32</sup> (Fernandez and Clyne, 2008) is evident among Wave 1 members. The results so far suggest that the period of settlement had an important role to play in Telugu language maintenance in London. After observing the potential for language shift in the Wave 1 group, it may be said that the low concentration of Telugus in a person's network is one of the many reasons for the shift to English. Some groups (for example, Greeks in Australia) have the ability to maintain their HL even when they are dispersed. This is because of the value attached to language as a symbol of their core identity (Smolicz, 1981) and the previous experience of maintaining it under adverse circumstances (Kloss, 1969). Telugus, however, do not have this experience. Whether their language is an important aspect of their identity or not is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

#### *Wave 2 First Generation's Social Network*

A short discussion on close-knit networks is presented below. However, this is not to say that all first-generation migrants have such networks, but most participants interviewed in this study live in predominantly migrant localities. It was stated in 5.3 that Hounslow and Newham are two areas where there are more Telugus than in the rest of London.

#### *Close-Knit Communities – Evidence from Fieldwork in Feltham (Hounslow) and Eastham (Newham) London*

Two focus groups were conducted in these areas with two close-knit Telugu social network groups. From what they shared in the interview, this appears to be a very cohesive community with almost daily interactions with each other. In these areas, facilities such as newly released Telugu films in popular cinema halls (see Appendix 4), TAL cultural centres (Telugu school) and shops selling South Indian food and household items are readily available. The attitudes of participants living in such cohesive

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<sup>32</sup> *Weak maintenance* is when there is an increasing tendency to use English among all generations.

settlements are very positive, both towards their language and about following their customs:

P91: Recently we celebrated *Dussehra* where we dressed up our children traditionally. We did *Rangoli* for *Bathukamma*, like that. During *Navaratri*, each day is celebrated in a different person's house with *puja* like *lalitha sahasranamam*, *govinda namam*...Morning in one person's home, evening in one person's home like that we did it for nine days.

Many said that their interactions with each other in the neighbourhood are regular, possibly on a daily basis. During festivals, as P91 said, they come together to host home-based events.

Among the second generation too, participants are able to connect with their friends in the Telugu community. Some of them also reported their young children's heritage language abilities positively. At a recent Telugu event in Hounslow, some children from the Feltham neighbourhood participated in various cultural programmes and demonstrated their linguistic abilities by speaking in Telugu on the stage. The following transcript was from a video on the TAL social network page (obtained with permission). The daughter of one of the Feltham participants invites Telugu children in London to the Children's Day celebration in November 2015:

*namaskāram, nā pēru (name withheld). mēmu TAL culture centre lō ennenō pāṭalu, nrīyālu, āṭalū nērcukunṭunnām. mī mundarakostunnām November 7<sup>th</sup> TAL children's day nāḍu. mari mīru mammalni chūḍakūki ready nā? vastunnāru kadā?*

TRANSLATION: Namaste, my name is (name withheld). We are learning so many things, such as songs, dance and games in the TAL culture centre. We (the children) are coming before you on 7 November to celebrate the Children's Day. So, are you ready to see us? You are attending, no?

From the way she pronounced the Telugu words, it is clear that this girl has a slight English influence in her accent, particularly in converting the Indian retroflex plosives into English alveolar plosives. Nevertheless, she articulated the message well and received appreciations on the post. Such close-knit communities, as Milroy (1987) notes, seem to foster an environment that is conducive to language maintenance. In the following example P19, an Eastham resident, talks about their son's competence in Telugu:

P19: When we visited India three years back, we noticed that he was better than most children in using Telugu because he used words like *meeru* (V distinction of *you*). None of the children in our close family even in India knew to make that distinction but he did and many praised him for that.

From my experience of meeting this family, I could see that their eight-year-old son not only speaks Telugu, but also recites Sanskrit prayers. One of the reasons for this is because it is a close-knit group living in the same neighbourhood of Eastham, and they meet each other every weekend and for festivals. The son is exposed to more Telugu community and culture, even in his neighbourhood domain, than most other children in London. This seems to have rendered a positive evaluation of the in-group and an active

competence in the HL, including the awareness of the advanced T/V distinction while speaking to elders. However, these children are very young and their behaviours towards their language cannot be used to predict their language maintenance in the future. As Coulmas (2013) notes, when children become young adults it is normal for them to want to shift from the norms established by the parent generation. However, opportunities to live in such close-knit neighbourhoods are very new to the Telugu community. As they become more financially secure and numerically stronger, they may be able to choose where they want to live and how they want to socialise. From what has been observed during the field trips, the Wave 2 first generation seems to prefer living in areas where there is a substantial Indian population. Therefore, it is possible to foresee more Telugus forming close-knit groups; however, how that might lead to language maintenance only future studies can tell.

### **6.3.3 Contact with India**

The role of contact with the source country as a language maintenance factor has been put forward in some studies (Canagarajah, 2008; Zhang, 2010; Moring et al., 2011). It is said that those immigrants belonging to the professional diaspora, i.e. who hold highly-skilled jobs, are in an advantageous position to visit their source countries compared to others who lose touch with their home due to asylum (Canagarajah, 2008) or a lack of supportive bilateral relations between nations (Prabhakaran, 1991). Zhang (2010), in his US-based LMLS study of Chinese parents and children, found that those who maintain their heritage language may also develop stronger relationships with the family, the community and the source country. But does contact with India act as a *domain* that can really contribute towards language maintenance? In order to explore this, the participants were asked about their frequency and mode of contact with India. This is because, in this age of technology, travel is not the only mode of contact; computer-mediated communication technology is becoming more and more relevant, which is enabled through high-speed and affordable internet connections (Moring et al., 2011).

70% of the participants had visited India within the last 12 months, and 18% within the last two years (at the time of the survey) (see Appendix 9f for the mean scores of India contact). Other than travel, the overall group reported that they use the phone to talk to their friends and relatives in India very frequently (mean = 4.67); some also use video calls (3.69), email (3.95) and social network sites (3.84). Video calls, for example via Skype, are gaining popularity and are preferred by many, as they bridge the gaps between them and their relatives very effectively.

### *To Maintain Culture and Kinship*

Some descriptive comments in the survey reveal that the main functional reason for maintaining Telugu is to communicate with the older generation so that relationships within the family, both in India and in the UK, are maintained. The following comments are in response to the question regarding why they should teach the heritage language to their children (question 23, see Appendix 7):

1. To communicate with old generation, to watch and follow Telugu traditions and festivals (P47).
2. To communicate his family members and cultures (P53).
3. To interact with family in India and also maintain the heritage (P60).
4. It will be easy for family relatives and friends in back home (P81).
5. For home communication (P86).

Staying in touch with parents is one of the major reasons for maintaining contact with India. Since there are restrictions on British residents to sponsor residence permits for additional family members, including parents, many participants reported that their parents visit them in the summer months on visitor visas. This helps them spend time with their grandchildren and vice versa.

### *Internet and Wave 2*

Travel is not the only way of staying in touch; some use video calling as well. Moring et al. (2011, p.184) observed that 'internet-based media are particularly important for the new migrants to maintain their ties with family and friends'. In their case study of the Polish community in Bradford, they state that the recent Polish immigrant groups have more advantages to help them maintain their language and homeland contact compared to post-war migrants. This observation is very similar to the wave-based differences noted in this study.

The technically savvy Wave 2 first generation has been observed to make use of this domain in more creative ways. Such advantages did not exist for Wave 1 and their children. It was observed during the fieldwork that some children also learn classical art forms, such as Carnatic music and dance, through video chat. One Wave 2 participant (P91) shares her perception about how she and her child are in touch with their culture through video and text chat technologies:

P91: My son was born here but he knows everyone...*ammamma* (maternal grandma), *nānamma* (paternal grandma), *peddanāna* (paternal uncle), his cousins. All this is because of Skype. All that you need is time and technology.

In extolling the greatness of this technology, P91 shares the fact that, through these mediums, a deeper sense of belongingness with her roots is being created, which was not possible before. The way she explains her son's familiarity with the family using Telugu

kinship terms is interesting. Even the UK-born second generation has been observed to use such terms while referring to their relatives in India. Prabhakaran (1997, p.65) observes that:

...even those who state that they cannot speak Telugu use various Telugu words in their everyday conversation, despite knowing the equivalent English...

Perhaps this is because saying it in Telugu shows a more affectionate bonding, or, as Romaine (1995) finds, it could be a state of coordinate bilingualism (see 3.3.2) where words that mean the same in different languages have different associations for the speaker. On a related note, it is common practice in India (and possibly in other cultures, such as East Asian and African) to refer to an older male as *uncle*, even if he is not related by blood, and a female older person would be *auntie*. However, if they are from the family, only Telugu kinship terms are used. These terms in a way convey social and consanguine distances (Coulmas, 2013). It has been observed that all second-generation participants of both waves referred to their relatives using Telugu kinship terms only. The use of media, staying in touch with the family in India and using such kinship terms all point towards a positive evaluation of language, culture and relationships.

#### *Language when in India*

In the interviewees' comments about their language use in India, there are three recurring themes: the overt prestige factor of English in India, Telugu language degeneration, and shaming or ridicule of the second generation's use of Telugu.

#### *Overt Prestige of English in India*

Some participants shared their experiences that they often find people in India have a favourable attitude towards English, which includes the overt prestige factor for the English spoken in Britain. In one of the interviews, a mother (P7) and daughter (P8) spoke about their experience of speaking Telugu and English in India. She recounts her funny experience as follows:

P7: I don't know why when I go there I feel that I have forgotten English.

P8: I too feel the same.

P7: But then my friends ask me '*okka sāraina mīru English lo mātladavā?*' (at least once speak to us in English).

ALL: (Loud laughter).

They found this funny because her friends in Hyderabad wanted to hear her speak in English. For them speaking in English was a matter of prestige, but for P7 and P8 travelling to India is an opportunity to use their heritage language. Others also discussed such opinions about the favourability for English in India. Sometimes, the parents expressed overt prestige towards British English, as in the following example:

P107: The thing is, when I go to India like on holiday or something, my mum's like 'oh, any youth generation, speak to them in English. They have to know like you (they) don't speak good English'. I want to speak Telugu naturally and she's like 'oh speak English with them'. You know that's bad.

Two interesting observations can be made from this example. First, presumably, the intention of the mother was to let the younger generation in India know that her daughter speaks better English. The factual validity of this claim could not be ascertained as their mother was not interviewed, but to go by this comment, the parent takes pride in her daughter's variety of English, compared to the Indian variety used in India. This may be interpreted as a high status being assigned to the usage as well as the variety of English. Some first-generation Sri Lankan Tamils too were reported to have such attitudes, assigning high prestige to their children's ability to speak English (Canagarajah, 2008). Expanding this further, Canagarajah notes that the parents not only wanted them to speak English, but also discouraged them from reading Tamil story books, as they felt that possessing two languages may be disadvantageous in gaining a high proficiency in English, which may in turn be interpreted as being uncivilised. This, he says, was due to the self-evaluation of their own English not being up to the standard, which is a carry-over from the colonial mind-set that the ruler's language must be better.

The second and more important observation is how P107 felt that it was not appropriate for her mother to do this, which shows her positive attitude towards using Telugu. Like P107 above, the Tamil second-generation participants said that such coercion by the parents led to them not developing sufficient HL competence. As discussed above, the perception of the parents about their heritage language and English is very crucial in shaping the children's attitudes and behaviours towards language.

But not all second-generation members said they were asked to show their English skills off. In some cases, they were encouraged to speak only in Telugu. Some of them may interpret this as coercion by their parents, as in the following example:

P106: When we go to India, they force you (me) to speak in Telugu, if I don't my mom and dad would be shouting at me.

The contradictory attitudes expressed by the participants above are interesting. In one family, Telugu is encouraged while in India, but in the other family, it is English.

### *Telugu Language Degeneration*

Some participants (P18 and P19) went on to say that their children who grew up in the UK spoke better Telugu than children in India, to the extent of using the T/V distinction, that is, the ability to adjust speech pragmatically (discussed in the section above). P33, a UK-born G2 participant (married to a UK-born Telugu) spoke about her enthusiasm for her language and the dismay she experienced in the lack of respect for it in India:



P33: My annoyance is the music that comes out of Tollywood today is trying to be too western! It's almost like Andhra is losing its cultural identity. We go to India lots, my mum is in contact with many people from Andhra, and her bugbear is those of my generation that mix English with Telugu and these are kids from India. She compares everyone to those of us here that can fluently speak Telugu.

### *Ridicule*

On other occasions, it is not the high status assigned to English, but the ridicule that G2 participants experience in India when they talk in Telugu that has contributed to language shift. In a separate interview P28 voices this opinion:

P28: Both the boys used to speak little bit of it (Telugu). But when you go to India, their accents are so British, that they were teased and that's why they stopped. But they can understand.

Firstly, the claim that the contact with the source country helps to maintain one's language is contradicted in the above example. Though speaking in Telugu could help build relationships, ridicule – which may be interpreted as an opinion about lack of linguistic purity – seems to increase the distance between the second generation and their language.

The three aspects of overt prestige for English, denigration of Telugu and ridicule are important social and psychological factors to consider. Apart from the colonial experience leading to high prestige being assigned to English (Canagarajah 2008), there is also a sense of linguistic inferiority towards the heritage language. This has been observed even among first-generation people living here (see Section 7.2.4). It has been shown how some parents coerce their children to speak in Telugu in India, however, when the second generation sees that English is more favoured than Telugu, their motivation to learn the heritage language is further reduced.

## **6.4 Summary of Behavioural Aspects**

In summary, the overall group scores indicate that the participants have rated English more confidently than Telugu. Proficiency in Telugu is not rated very far from English, given the fact that most of the participants came from Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. The data indicates strong English-Telugu bilingualism in the London-based Telugu group, very similar to what Sridhar (1988) noticed in the New York-based Kannada group with a similar socio-economic background.

Domain language use of Telugu is rated low, as is expected of immigrant groups in English-dominant countries (cf. Sridhar, 1988; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Canagarajah, 2008, 2013).

Subjective vitality of the in-group (TVI) is the least rated of all the factors listed in the table. General attitudes on the other hand can be seen to be rated more positively, as they also include the emotional vitality that the individuals assign to their language – a

trend that is commonly noticed among linguistic minorities (cf. Ravindranath, 2009; Hamid, 2011). The correlation tests confirm that Telugu attitudes and behaviours are closely associated with each other and in a positive way.

The overall index data clearly shows that the second generation has not rated Telugu proficiency and domain usage confidently. Added to that, their attitude ratings (SEV, functional and emotional vitality) indicate that they perceive English more positively than Telugu.

Even though the Wave 1 G2 group reported that they use Telugu at home ( $TDI_{Home} = 3.40$ ), further analysis reveals that this is passive use of Telugu, restricted to understanding the heritage language and being able to use vocabulary specific to food, relations, etc. However, such competence does not qualify as evidence for language maintenance, because in general scholars agree that LM should entail habitual use (speaking) of HL in at least one of the domains, especially the home domain (Edwards, 1997; Haugen, 1953; Fishman, 1964; Dorian, 1981). To recap the discussion in the literature review on bilingualism (Section 3), *compound* bilingualism is when the child learns two languages (L1 and L2) as a result of them being used simultaneously, and *coordinate* bilingualism is when a child learns the languages in separate environments. Fishman (1964) states that coordinate bilingualism is healthier because it allows for separation of domains for the dominant and heritage language. From the discussion above, it becomes clear that the parents try to speak in Telugu with their children, and yet the children shift to English after they start school.

## **Chapter 7: Language Vitality, Attitudes and Identity**

In Chapter 4, a subjective ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire (SEVQ), developed by Bourhis et al. (1981), was introduced as an extension to the ethnolinguistic vitality theory. SEVQ, when used in conjunction with the ethnolinguistic vitality assessment, will provide a fuller picture of what is available to the group members and what their attitudes are towards the in-group and the salient out-group (Bourhis et al., 1981). Additionally, a further extension of SEVQ was developed by Landry and Allard (1994), who propose that it is not enough to consider just the support factors (EV) and attitudes (SEV), but it is important to consider other socio-psychological factors as well. These factors include L1-L2 proficiency, opportunities for language use and language contact. This is a more systematic approach to studying Fishman's (1964, 1972) postulates for LMLS: 1) habitual language use, 2) socio-psychological and cultural processes and 3) behaviour toward language. What has been discussed in Chapter 6 in the form of language proficiency, domain language use and language contact was partly based on this approach.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the attitudes towards the HL and DL groups. In other words, the participants' perceptions of Telugu and English/British groups (subjective ethnolinguistic vitality) and language vitality (functional and emotional importance) in relation to their survival as a Telugu community are analysed and discussed.

It has already been shown in 6.1 that the vitality of English is considerably higher than Telugu. Further data from the individual SEV factors will show where the participants rated the vitality of their own group differently from that of the dominant out-group. Additionally, in the analysis in 6.1, it was shown that general attitudes, that is, the functional and emotional importance associated with both languages, were rated better than ethnolinguistic vitality. However, it has not yet been shown which of the individual attitude factors are considered more important than the others. These, along with other aspects, such as attitudes towards acculturation into British society, and general perceptions about Telugu people and Telugu identity, are discussed with the help of the interview data. All these discussions together will provide answers to RQ2 and RQ3. To recap, these are:

RQ2: Are there any differences in vitality pertaining to the functionality and emotional importance assigned to Telugu and English by both generations?

RQ3: Do both first and second generations view their heritage language as an important aspect of their identity living in London/UK?

In the review of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Telugus in London (see Chapter 4, Section 3) it has been shown that their EV is low with respect to status, demographic and formal institutional support factors. However, the community appears to be organised

about maintaining its cultural and linguistic identity – even more so in recent years. In the following section, their opinions regarding the EV factors are presented and discussed.

### 7.1 Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Analysis and Discussion

To recap, Giles et al. (1977) define ethnolinguistic vitality as:

*that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations (p. 308).*

The factors used to measure the EV of a group are demographic, status and institutional support. According to this theory the higher the EV, the greater a group's chances of surviving as a distinctive and active group, without having to assimilate fully into the dominant group.

The original SEV questionnaire was customised for the study (see 5.2.5) and the following eight questions were chosen (see Qs 17 to 21 in the survey, Appendix 7).

The following were the questions used in the survey:

- 1) Regard for Telugu and English (EVI<sub>Regard</sub>) – *status factor*
- 2) Control over political, economic and business matters in the area (EVI<sub>Control</sub>) – *institutional support factor*
- 3) Population size (EVI<sub>Population</sub>) – *demographic factor*
- 4) Cultural pride (EVI<sub>Pride</sub>) – *status factor*
- 5) Socially strong and active (EVI<sub>Active</sub>) – *institutional support factor*
- 6) Wealth aspects (EVI<sub>Wealth</sub>) – *status factor*
- 7) Opinion about future group strength? (EVI<sub>Future</sub>)<sup>33</sup>
- 8) Extent of mother tongue teaching (EVI<sub>Mothertongue</sub>) – here the Tamil group was also used for comparison.

EV factors	Telugu (TVI)	English (EVI)
Regard	3.01	4.72
Control	2.19	4.32
Population	2.58	4.18
Pride	3.60	3.92
Active	3.13	4.14
Wealth	3.28	4.02
Future	3.37	4.39
Mother tongue teaching	3.42	4.60

Table 7.1: Consolidated descriptive statistics of Telugu and English individual SEV factors

At first glance, all Telugu ethnolinguistic vitality (TVI) factors are rated lower than 4 and all English ethnolinguistic vitality (EVI) factors are higher than or closer to 4. The mean scores of all TVI factors are between 2.19 (TVI<sub>Control</sub>) and 3.60 (TVI<sub>Pride</sub>). This shows they

<sup>33</sup> Please note that Bourhis et al. (1981) did not categorise this option under any of the three EV factors.

rated themselves to be yielding less political and economic power and holding more cultural pride, compared to all other SEV factors within the in-group. For English these ratings range between 3.92 (cultural pride) and 4.72 (regard locally). The dominant group is clearly perceived to have a stronger ethnolinguistic vitality than the heritage language in all factors. Note, the least-rated English pride factor (3.92) is actually higher than the highest-rated Telugu factor, which also happens to be about cultural pride (3.60).

It was noted in Section 6.1.3 that the vitality of the out-group is perceived to be higher (TVI = 0.61 and EVI = 0.86), and the differences between these scores by generation are significant. However, the scores of each individual Telugu and English EV factors by generation are not found to differ significantly, albeit the second generation rated the English/British group's vitality higher than the first generation (see Appendix 9c for the EV mean scores by generation).

Rasinger (2007, 2012) found that the first-generation Bangladeshis' in-group ratings were more varied and positive compared to the second generation. He indicates that such low vitality assigned to the in-group by the second generation may be a contributing factor towards advanced language shift in favour of English. In this study both the first and second generation have assigned a low vitality to the in-group. For some groups, such low vitality may not indicate language shift; for example, among the Turkish immigrant groups Yagmur (2011) found low EV, but considerable language maintenance. However, from what has been discussed in Sections 6.2 and 6.3, lower language skills and usage, and now a lower vitality assignment with regard to the second generation, indicate an advanced language shift in the Telugu group as well.

To understand what exactly these perceptions are, it is important to look at the interview data. The most distinct themes that emerged from the interviews with respect to the vitality assigned to their in-group are: obscured group identity, negative attitudes towards the language and culture, loyalty of Telugus towards their language, socio-economic stability and increased visibility since the early 2000s. Each of these themes is discussed below.

### **7.1.1 Attitudes Towards the In-Group**

Telugus expressing their angst about their own group's lack of language loyalty and pride are not new in the media, literature and more recently in internet discourse as well. The following couplet written by the famous Kaloji<sup>34</sup> encapsulates this sceptical view:

ఏ భాషర నీది, ఏమి వేషము రా; ఈ భాష ఈ వేషము ఎవరి కోసమురా?

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<sup>34</sup> Kaloji Narayana Rao (1914-2002) is a popular Telugu poet. In 2015, the Telangana government announced that his birthday (9 September) will be celebrated as the Telangana Mother Tongue day.

అన్య భాషలు నేర్చి ఆంధ్రము రాదంచు , సకిలించు ఆంధ్రుడా చావా వెందుకురా?

కాలోజి

yē bhāshara nidi, yēmi vēshamu rā; ī bhāsha ī vēshamu evari kosamurā?

anya bhāshalu nērcchi āndhramu rādanchu, sakilinchu āndhrudā chāvāvendukurā?

Kālōji

(What language is yours, what costume; and for who do you adorn these? Hey, *āndhrudā* (vocatively: Telugu man) who prides in speaking other languages but not Telugu; why don't you just die – Kaloji).

If a group attaches higher vitality to its culture, then the chances of maintaining its language can be better. This is what Allard and Landry (1992, p.174) refer to as the 'cognitive-affective disposition' under psychological factors that assist additive or subtractive bilingualism. The proposition here is that language and culture are closely intertwined. Ehala (2011, p.192) introduced 'hot and cold ethnicities' to define groups based on their level of emotional attachment to their in-group:

A 'hot' ethnic group is one whose members have a high emotional attachment to their group. These groups use a high emotional climate to mobilise their members for collective behaviour ... 'Cold' ethnic groups are those whose members' emotional attachment to the group is low, absent or latent. Members of such groups are willing to participate in collective action on the basis of rational calculation.

Ehala (2011) also notes that when a group is perceived to be strong in its territory, it has no reason to be in the hot mode. Most western nations therefore operate in the cold mode. The same can be said about Telugu in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, where the threat to language maintenance is arguably low. A comment by a research scholar from Hyderabad at a Telugu conference in SOAS captures this idea:

You (Telugus in the UK) seem to be worried about Telugu language more than us (Telugus in AP/TLN). We don't have such a perception because we don't think about the language (loss) as much as you do because it is the majority (21 June 2013).

The discussion that follows may be seen in the light of the group members feeling threatened by the loss of their language and culture. Many of the comments seem to suggest a sense of loss of roots and heritage, as the low vitality scores depict. Here are some examples:

- Roots are to be known (P90, comments in the survey)
- Lose your roots, you lose yourself (P109, comments in the survey)
- Stay in touch with the roots (P103, comments in the interview)
- My roots are Telugu. Here we grow new branches but the roots remain the same (P15 comments in the interview)
- Still have the roots and values (P11, comments in the interview)

Such opinions suggest that the group is in a hot mode with respect to their perceptions about their language and culture. However, the data from the survey and interviews suggests that they perceive their in-group to be cold when it comes to maintaining their language and culture. In other words, they perceive their group to have less language

loyalty. Karan (2011, p.141), based on Bourdieu's language as a symbolic capital, says that group members either associate with or disassociate themselves from their in-group, based on their social identity motivation. Many Telugus I met expressed that it is very common for a Telugu person to not want to mix with the Telugu community because he/she wants to associate with the dominant group, i.e. the English/British group. The following comment from survey question 28 encapsulates such a view about in-group members:

Telugu people have a tendency to not want to mix much with other Telugu people ... If there are two Tamils who don't know each other, but happen to cross each other's paths, they become good friends and hang out in the gathering ... I want to mix with other Telugu people, I kind of get a look which I think means 'oh god ... even thousands of kilometres away from AP...still you'. Okay, I understand that people want to modernise and get in touch with and make more English friends but don't understand why it should be at the expense of Telugu friends.

Such opinions about the Telugu group's favourable attitudes towards English recurred in some other survey comments. However, the opinion about the lack of Telugus' language loyalty compared to the other language groups, especially Tamil, is often repeated. This requires more attention, as it is one of the key issues about sub-minority groups such as Telugus.

It is suggested that making intragroup (for example, within Indian immigrant groups) or intergroup (for example, an Indian group with another immigrant group) comparisons may be an improvement over the existing trend of comparing with the dominant language (for example, English in this study) (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). Though understanding how the Telugus perceive their vitality compared to the dominant group is important, the question regarding *the importance of teaching the mother tongue* (see question 21 in Appendix 7) required them to make one additional comparison, which is with the Tamil group. This was also done because asking them how well the English-speaking group teaches their heritage language in an English-speaking country may not make that much of a difference. Tamil was chosen because it is a language closer to Telugu linguistically (Dravidian), geographically (neighbouring states in India) and culturally. Added to that, the Tamil group is very often compared with the Telugu group, in both formal and informal conversations about language loyalty, as shown in the example above. It must also be noted that the Tamils have a better recognition as an ethnic group owing to the coverage the Sri Lankan civil war received in political and social discourse. Sri Lankan Tamils are said to belong to the victim diaspora (Cohen, 2008).

	Telugu <sub>TeachMT</sub>	Tamil <sub>TeachMT</sub>
Mean	3.42	3.81
Median	3.00	4.00
Mode	3	5
Std. Deviation	1.103	1.217

Table 7.2: Perception about teaching their mother tongue to children (Tamil vs Telugu)

(Note that the subscript TeachMT means how well they teach their mother tongue (heritage language) to their children.)

Going by the data (Table 7.2), it appears that they assign higher vitality to the Tamil group for the question about *to what extent they teach their mother tongue to their children*. A mean of 3.81, median of 4 and a mode of 5 clearly indicate this opinion. Most of them said that Tamils teach their heritage language to their children *very successfully*. When another group is used to neutralise the highly polarised comparisons between Telugu and the dominant language, the effect produced shows how this sample still assigned the lowest vitality to their own group.

In the next excerpt, P11 expresses her opinion about how the Telugu group is not very particular about its customs and traditions, and in doing so she again uses the Tamil group for comparison:

AY: What do you feel about the future of Telugus in this country?

P11: I think that boils down to the individual responsibilities and individual families, or tradition. Let me start with the tradition; now take the Tamil people, have they let go of any of their stuff? Very nicely, if I have to contrast, they pass it on. [...] We are not like that, for everything we go '*chalo yaar, chalta hain, kuch bhi kardo, bus kaam khatam kardo*' (In Hindi: come on, anything will do, let's just get done with it), that way we leave the loose ends the way they are.

Other participants also expressed negative attitudes about the community. P27 runs the most popular Telugu radio in Europe and the UK. In his observation he finds that the Telugus are not supportive of each other and that they have a passive attitude towards their own community:

P27: [...] there is no empathy. There is no feeling of we are all one, because of that they (Telugu people) think very fragmentally. The unity that Gujaratis have or the Panjabis have, Telugus do not have.

Once again, like P11, P27's perception of the Gujarati group's cohesiveness was used as the barometer, and in comparison, the in-group's vitality as a cohesive community is rated low. I do not claim that such attitudes are factual evidence of general perceptions towards a language. But just as some other South Asian communities (for example, the elders of the Sri Lankan Tamil community in Canagarajah's (2013) study), Telugus seem to be self (group) critical. A sense of linguistic as well as cultural insecurity is evident, which is commonly observed among smaller immigrant groups that are in a 'culturally unfamiliar environment' (Wei, 2012, p.43). Apart from being in a culturally different environment, it



has been shown in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3) that Telugus are a sub-minority in London. With such a demographic status, the maintenance of language and culture could be an expensive option.

Insecurity about group size and a lack of identity is repeated across generations. In the following example, P103 (WAVE 2G2) shares the reactions of her friends at her school when she told them about her linguistic group:

P103: ... and also because no one really knows the language Telugu, when they hear it they are like '*what, I don't know I never heard of that*'. But then Hindi is quite common. They do speak it. Like most of the school knows that language. They can just be like '*oh! Yeah ... What's that movie we saw oh*'. It's more free because they know what we are talking about.

This perceived status of being a sub-minority introduces additional layers with which to compare, other than just English. Firstly, Telugu is not a language that is readily recognised, in spite of its antiquity and a large number of speakers in its provincial setting (see Sections 2.1 and 2.2). Secondly, it is not among the most visible language groups, such as Gujarati, Panjabi, Tamil or even Hindi in the UK, which have a longer history of settlement. The comment by P103 encapsulates this sentiment about the lack of visibility of the Telugu group in the overall canvas of the Indian-British ethnic groups. Whereas Hindi, which represents a pan-Indian identity as well as Bollywood, is a language in which they can talk freely. P100 clearly articulates the reasons behind the misplaced identity of the Telugus:

P100: South (India) means Tamil Nadu is implied. That is why we are asked whether we are from Madras or Sri Lanka.

AY: Yes, I too have been asked that question.

P100: Because of (skin) colour and they (native British) think we are...they know South India and mostly Chennai. They know that there are a lot of Sri Lankan people in the UK because of that ... *ēmantaru* [how do you say] the asylum.

The issue is both of a *misplaced identity* – members of a Tamil group – and *existential* – members of the dominant out-group – who do not know that a Telugu group exists. As the participant said, the linguistic and political crisis in Sri Lanka and the eventual granting of asylum by some countries in the Global North have led to the visibility of the Tamil linguistic group.

In the case of the Tamils, language is not only representative of culture but also of ethnic-nationality (for example, Sri Lankan Tamils). So far, it appears that in the case of the Telugus, language is only representative of the culture, but not ethnicity. This is because a broader ethnicity, such as Indian or Indian-British, is sufficient to identify people of Indian origin. The cases of Gujarati and Panjabi are significantly different, because the latter has a religious identity (Sikh) and a racial identity (Joseph, 2010), and the Gujaratis have an identity of a business community (Sahoo, 2006). In fact, the visibility of the Gujarati

community is so large in the UK that former Prime Minister David Cameron used Gujarati phrases to address the 60,000 Indians (and people of Indian origin) assembled at Wembley on 13 November 2015. The other language Mr Cameron used was Hindi, which in a way was meant to appease the rest of the Indian community as well<sup>35</sup>.

In this section the perceptions of the group's lack of cohesiveness, insecurity and lack of identity have been discussed. These are some of the subjective perceptions that may be categorised under the demographic factors of SEV. Although it is not common practice to discuss such subjective issues in empirical studies, it is crucial to understand the reasons behind them. The emergence of a Telugu identity in the neo-political sphere of India is also a recent phenomenon (see Section 2.3). Tamil always served as the pan-south-Indian identity marker even in India, due to the role the Tamils played in the Dravidian and anti-*Brahmin* movements in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Inniah, 1980). This issue of language and identity will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent sections. On another note, judging the in-group harshly is not new to this group alone – Canagarah (2008) heard similar opinions from the Sri Lankan Tamils. In fact, Smolicz et al. (1990) found that the Indian Tamil group (and the other Indian language groups) in Australia are indifferent to losing their heritage language when compared to Mandarin speakers from China. Therefore, it would appear the perceptions discussed above, which pinpoint Tamil as a hot minority (Ehala, 2011), are not entirely true. The group's self-critical evaluation is perhaps one of the methodological benefits (or constraints) of being seen as an in-group researcher.

### **7.1.2 Financial Stability**

In this section the groups' perceptions of their financial stability (SEV status factor) are discussed. As a reminder, in the EV review (see 4.3) it has been mentioned that groups with a higher economic status may have better opportunities to maintain their language compared to disadvantaged groups. However, this is also an ambivalent factor (Kloss, 1966), as groups that have a lower economic status may actually settle in enclaves, which could lead to ghettoisation and eventually maintenance. A good example of this in the UK is the Bangla/Sylhetti community in the London borough of Tower Hamlets (Rasinger, 2007). Similarly, having a high economic status could also lead to language shift if the in-group gains access to this by learning the dominant language. A good example is the Kannadigas in New York (Sridhar, 1989), who experienced language shift within the second generation. Their income is higher than the national average and they are well-versed in English too, due to the technical nature of their jobs.

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<sup>35</sup> Rt Hon. PM David Cameron started his address with *kem cho*, which means 'how are you?' in Gujarati. Towards the end of his speech he said in Hindi *ache din zaroor ayenge* (better days will certainly come) as an enhancement to Sri Narendra Modi's election slogan *ache din ane wala hai* (better days are going to come).

Referring back to the Telugus, while attitudes about group cohesiveness and unity are mostly negative, perceptions about their group's economic wellbeing appear to be positive. The following comment by P28 illustrates this:

P28: I think Telugu people in general are quite wealthy. Because all of them are doctors.

AY: Do you know any Telugu person who is not working or unemployed apart from students or anyone like that?

P28: Not really. All the people I know are all employed and are all in high-paid jobs.

It is interesting to note that in P28's perceptions all Telugus are doctors and therefore financially stable. It has been mentioned before that many of the Telugus (and in general Indians) who migrate to developed countries are highly qualified professionals or students seeking higher education (Bhatt and Bhaskar, 2007). In another interview, a chartered accountant based in West London, P65, shared his perceptions about the financial situation of the Telugus living in London:

AY: So, when we take the financial situation, our Telugus, when compared with other expat or immigrant groups, how are they doing, well or not so well?

P65: I would say that they are doing extremely good. Most of our Telugu people are in IT field. IT or doctors. So, they are doing really good for now. So everybody is having ... husband and wife doing contracting.

AY: Is that the usual case with the Telugu families, husband and wife working sort of situation?

P65: Husband and wife are definitely working. So, some people, if husband is contracting, wife is doing permanent and vice versa. Some of them, both are doing contracting. Many of them husband and wife doing contracting. Because I see most of them as my clients, husband and wife are doing contracting and they are making around 200K a year.

P65 is in a unique position compared to the rest of the Telugus I met in this study. He is not from an IT/software or medical background, but works in finance. His business entails doing financial accounting for his clients. He acknowledges that most of his clients are Indians and specifically Telugus. His company features regularly as one of the sponsors at the Telugu events in London and elsewhere in the UK. P65 is also a unique participant because he is one of the few Telugus in London who gets to use Telugu at work. However, he said that he chooses not to speak to his clients in Telugu in a formal business meeting or when there are others around (see more discussion on accommodation in 7.2). In P65's perception, the Telugus he works with are financially stable, with both wife and husband working as contractors or permanent employees. Although the income figure quoted may be true in only a few cases, it is interesting to note that estimation of the economic situation of the Telugus is far higher than what is considered to be an average household income.

But does this financial stability lead to better maintenance as the EV theory proposes? Some of the opinions expressed seem to indicate that Telugus may be well-to-do but they lack the community cohesion found in other language groups. In the section above, the

opinions of P11 and P27 comparing the in-group with Tamils and Gujaratis have been discussed.

Unlike some of the comments presented above, P25's opinion is different. For him, not being active socially and culturally is not necessarily a bad thing in itself. He looks at his community more pragmatically, focusing on finances and family-related matters. As P25 has other Indian language speakers (Hindi, Tamil and Bengali) in his social network rather than just Telugu speakers, he feels that his perspective is mostly that of an outsider:

P25: I personally find as I just said, not much knowledge, but I find Telugu people are generally more down to earth, practical, they take care of their own family, finance and things like that. Not much more ambitious outside that, you know, fields, like compared to Tamilians, they are much more ambitious ... they want to go to into politics, that sort of things. But Telugu people are more practical.

These perceptions show that the group's economic vitality is assessed to be more positive. And this is not surprising, due to the highly qualified technical roles that most Telugu communities' skilled workers hold. One of Kloss's (1966) ambivalent factors (see Section 3.2.3) talks about how financial stability, including higher education levels, may act for or against language maintenance – that is, how a higher education and socio-economic status in the host society may bring immigrants closer to the dominant group. In the case of the Wave 1 first generation, both these factors may have contributed to acculturation into the dominant society, which may also be one of the reasons for language shift among their children (more discussion on acculturation in Section 7.2; also cf. Field Notes, 2016). An important point of observation – Wave 1 came to the UK at a time when gender equality in the work environment back home was not on a par with what it is today. In spite of that, many of the Wave 1 households had both wife and husband working (and usually in similar professions). Additionally, there is a difference between financial stability and being able to afford any amount of expense. Technological advancement and globalisation have made contact between people easier today, but in the 1970s and 80s the situation was different. It was not easy to travel to India every year as most of them do now, because air fares were expensive. In Chapter 2 (Section 6.1) it was noted that Wave 1's ability to stay in touch with the extended family back in India through travel or telephone was limited. This was not because there were no phones in India, but even a landline phone was a luxury up until the 1990s. The following comment illustrates this point:

Very few had phones (landlines) back then. If we needed to talk to our relatives in India we would first call someone in the neighbourhood who had a phone at home and tell them that we would call back at a particular time. Our relative would make his young son wait in the neighbour's house till we call back. The boy would go running to his house to fetch his father to take the call. We used to call this 'pp phone' (pp= *piliste palike phonu* (give us a shout phone) or *pakkinti phonu* (the phone next door). And because it was difficult to get a trunk call connection, the wait usually extends to over an hour sometimes.

These were some of the challenges faced by Wave 1 in their early days of settlement. Therefore, financial stability is relative and depends on many other factors. However, the increase in community activities in recent decades is a good example of the financial contributions and efforts of the Telugus in London.

### **7.1.3 Increased Visibility in the Last Decade**

Perceptions about the group's strength and activity were not always negative, as discussed above. Surprisingly, some Wave 1 first-generation participants perceive Telugu demographic strength to be greater now compared to when they arrived, and they see the Telugu group being more active now than it was before:

P6: Now there are many Telugus, in Eastham, West London, so many.

P2: Yes, they are also very active. When we came, it used to be one family in Luton, one in the Midlands, like that. But now there are many.

In general, the first generation of Wave 1 has a positive perception about the size of the Telugu group and this is because they compare it with what they experienced in the 1970s and 80s as a community that was geographically fragmented. Contrastingly, note the following comments of a Wave 2 first-generation participant, which show that the perceptions about the size of a community are only relative:

P15: To be honest, we are a sort of a complete minority, it is a complete minority. Hardly you get to see a Telugu person in a day, unless and until you have some colleagues. Otherwise you don't get to speak to a Telugu person in ... at a stretch two, three days, right? So my neighbour, of course I have one Telugu guy but I don't get to meet to him every day. At work, nobody speaks in Telugu.

Despite such contradictory opinions, it cannot be denied that the community is more active now compared to the years preceding the previous decade. Some important themes have emerged as reasons for the increased Telugu activity in London. One such theme is the increase in political and linguistic identity in India (see 2.3) post-1980. Basically, the attempt here is to understand what caused the later arrivals (Wave 2) to become more active. Ehala (2011, p.197) observes 'It is hard to achieve a collective psychological state in an ethnic group consisting of rationally behaving members who have a low emotional attachment to the group [...] (T)herefore, to start the heating process, an initial spark is needed'.

It is not claimed that Wave 2 is experiencing uninterrupted language maintenance. However, their use of language (including the second generation), the possibility of close-knit social networks and the increase in community-organised events show that they are in a more advantageous position to teach Telugu to their children. A slight increase in the number of Telugus is certainly an important aspect to consider, yet they are still a sub-minority. So, what exactly has caused this spark among the Telugu community in recent years? Or is it a gradual change?

### *Socio-Economic and Political Identity Factors*

In contrast to the opinions expressed by P100 and P103 in Section 7.1.1 about the lack of unique identity for Telugus, P91 has a positive perception about the Telugu group identity. For her, Hyderabad is synonymous with Telugu, and when the local people recognise this city, they are recognising their language community as well. However, she implicitly indicates that this knowledge exists among the native British, who are in highly-skilled jobs and have had exposure to India:

P91: When I meet people (native British) who are in highly-skilled positions and who have an interest (in India) and they ask me particularly which place in India I am from and when I say Hyderabad, they are able to recognise and say that they like the place. This means that the Telugu people have a special recognition.

Since India opened up globally with economic reforms in the early 1990s, many companies from the west have established off-shore operations in some of the main Indian cities. Hyderabad sometimes acts as a pan-Andhra/Telangana identifier (Chekuri and Muppidi, 2003). This can be further justified given the fact that cities such as Bengaluru and Hyderabad are able to assert a South Indian metropolitan identity much more strongly now than they used to when Chennai (erstwhile Madras) was the only prominent South Indian city. Madras was once used as a pan-South Indian marker, which is considered offensive now. This is an important observation; as Telugu visibility increases in the eyes of the Telugu community in the UK, it also boosts their sense of cultural pride. Contrast this with what Prabhakaran (1991) observed as a lack of cultural identity for the Telugus among the Tamils in South Africa, who were all known as just Madrasis to the British.

Even though the Telugu community played a major role in the Indian linguistic movements (see Section 2.3), it neither has an ethnic identity like the Tamils nor a business-community identity like the Gujaratis, especially in the UK. Even in independent India, it was not until the 1980s that a stronger Telugu identity was asserted at a national level with the advent of a political party (Kohli, 1988). P27's comments below exemplify this:

P27: NTR brought that respect to Telugu. Until then there were only *speakers of Telugu*; after him there were *Telugu speakers*. He brought that identity. That is why the recent arrivals are loyal because of what he did. See, if a peacock dances in a forest, behind the shrubbery, who is going to see it? But when he removed those obstructions, it is the same peacock and the same dance, but now it is visible. That way, he showed the Telugu *bhasha*, *kattu* (dress), *bottu* (culture) to the world. In a way he was the one who marketed Telugu.

Such opinions about the re-emergence of the Telugu identity at a national level were also shared by other Wave 1 Telugus on several occasions. In recent years, there has been a stronger assertion of Telugu identity, with respect to the regional affiliation. In Sections 2.1 and 2.3, I discussed the circumstances of the creation of the new state Telangana (TLN), which was carved out of the larger Andhra Pradesh. It was shown that the creation of all

the Telugu regions since India's independence appears to have been as a result of linguistic affiliation. However, Inniah (1980) argues that in the background there were always political and economic motivations. Therefore, language loyalty as a unifying factor among the Telugus may be questionable. In the UK and elsewhere in the diaspora, the repercussions of divided opinions for and against Telangana and Andhra were felt. P6 here shares his experience of attending an event in Sheffield where he witnessed such divided affinities:

AY: Why were there two separate meetings?

P6: I don't know, I was also surprised. I used to attend both meetings, but I was torn between which one to attend.

Interestingly, when I attended the medical graduate reunion in Sheffield in May 2013, there were two separate meetings held: one for the Andhra Medical Graduates Reunion (AMGR: from the Andhra region) and the other for the Osmania Engineering and Medical Graduates Association (OMEGA: from the Telangana region). Until the previous year, the meetings were held together annually, but from 2013 (this was before the formation of the Telangana state) they decided to hold separate sessions for the AMGR and OMEGA.

However, such division of regional loyalties has only led to increased social activity in the Telugu sphere. That is, there are more events celebrating the Telangana identity in a much more pronounced way, for example, the *Bathukamma* festival (see Section 2.4.1 and Appendix 5). Interestingly, the new government of Telangana is providing support to cultural activities that celebrate a unique Telangana identity (Field Notes, 2016).

In recent years, there has been an increase in politicians and film actors travelling to the UK to attend cultural events more frequently than ever before. Moreover, attendance to any of the community events is open to all and neither region shies away from celebrating Telugu culture. All these aspects show that there is a much more active Telugu group, which is maintaining its connections, not just with people in the source country, but also with socio-political players.

The socio-political factors discussed above may have contributed to the increased vitality observed in Wave 2. Wave 1, on the other hand, was not directly part of such political and regional changes taking place in the source country. It should also be noted that when Wave 1 migrated to the UK, India was considered a poor nation, following the Soviet economic model (Kohli, 2006). In 1991, India introduced economic reforms, often referred to as the liberalisation of the Indian economy (ibid.). At the same time, demand for IT workers in the developed world has led to highly-skilled Indians settling abroad (popularly known as the 'brain drain' cf. Bhaskar and Bhatt, 2007). During the late 1990s the Indian government started to reach out to the Indian diaspora more actively to invite them to participate in their source country's growth. By this time, India was beginning to be noticed

among the nations as a developing country, due to its economic, defence and technological advancement. In short, the Indian diaspora in the west, especially the US, moved from being a 'pariah to a self-respecting bourgeoisie that includes high-tech professionals who are aware of their relatively privileged economic status' (Safran et al., 2008, p.2).

Considering this change in perception is crucial to understanding the changes in UK Telugu diaspora behaviours. It was also during this time that the then AP government reached out to the Pravāsāndhras (non-resident Andhras). It was noted in Chapter 2 (Section 3) how the Pravāsāndhras contributed to the development of the infrastructure of the state. The national and regional identities of the Telugu diaspora are being asserted more strongly by Wave 2 compared to Wave 1. This may have led to a situation where the newer arrivals are socially more active. However, this aspect needs to be researched further more empirically. For now, there is not much evidence available to show whether such identity assertions would lead to better language maintenance. That said, the increase in activity was not because of a sudden spark or change but a gradual change in population numbers and settlement patterns, and an increase in the cultural and regional pride fostered in the home country. The Wave 2 second generation is probably more conscious of those factors that constitute a Telugu identity compared to Wave 1, who experience it at a distance and through occasional travel only.

#### *Telugu in the Linguistic Landscape of London*

The presence of Telugu in the landscape of some Asian food markets in London is not as conspicuous as Bengali in Spitalfields (Rasinger, 2015). However, it exists in restricted micro-spaces (see Appendix 6). Both in Hounslow and Newham there are shops (for example, Shakti Cash and Carry, Mina Stores, etc.) that have Telugu signs posted against food items that are typical in Telugu cuisine. Surprisingly, none of these shops is managed by the Telugus; however, when asked about the necessity for such signs, the shops reported that they have many Telugus visiting their shops. This shows how commercial establishments are accommodating Telugu in areas where they are seen in considerable numbers. However, this observation is much localised (inside specific shops and signposting very specific goods), and does not claim to have a positive effect on the group's vitality (Landry and Bourhis, 1997). The presence of Telugu in the literary landscape is limited to the magazines published by Telugu cultural associations. These magazines are usually bilingual (Telugu and English) and the contributions range from poems to research articles. My observations (as documented in my field notes) show that the literary contributions of the second-generation children are in English, whereas the first generation publishes in both languages (Field Notes, 2016). The identity position of the Telugu magazines is not strictly Telugu only; they allow bilingual publications, as



shared in this section. The following comment by the ex-chairman of the Telugu Association of London (TAL UK) encapsulates the ideology behind such an accommodation:

P3: We are not the kind that would tear our shirts for the sake of language. I don't see the point in such a *bhāsha chādastam* (linguistic fussiness).

More on linguistic accommodation is presented in Section 7.2.4.

### *The Craze Of Tollywood*

Use of Telugu in the internet domain is probably one of the most visible functional loads, although it is quite restrictive. One of the aspects of Telugu culture is the fondness the community has for Telugu films (see Section 2.4.3). Most of the popular Telugu websites in the UK (for example, Teluguone.com, errabassu.com, edlabandi.com, etc.) are predominantly film-focused. If cricket and Bollywood are the favourite pastimes of a general Indian populace, Tollywood (and cricket, of course) is popular among the Telugus.

How is this seemingly unrelated aspect of films relevant to the subject of LMLS? It is important because the popularity of Telugu films has increased the functional transparency of Telugu, not just in India, but also in the Indian diaspora. In the 1990s South African context, Prabhakaran (1991) placed Telugu films secondary in popularity to Tamil and Hindi films. She acknowledges that films played a very important role in the maintenance of their culture.

The recent release (June 2015) of a Telugu film entitled *Bāhubali* has had much international praise and recognition, including coverage in the British media and documentaries, for its scale of production and the use of modern technology (BBC News, 2015). Telugu films and Telugus (at least the younger ones) are inseparable. The craze to watch Telugu films is such that UK-based film distributors are enthusiastic about bringing the newest Telugu movies to a UK audience in sync with their release in India. The recent release of the film *nānnaku, prēmato* (To dad with love) was heavily marketed, to the extent that the distributors are the main sponsors for the TAL UK Sankranti celebrations on 16 January 2016. Following the success of *Bāhubali* in the overseas market, *nānnaku, prēmato* was released in 13 locations in the UK, including Harrow and Barking in West and East London (DesiTalkies, 2016).

If there is one aspect of Telugu culture about which the younger second generation is really proud, it is the films:

AY: Do you watch Telugu films regularly?

P18: We see every film, even my son watches them.

They also spoke about their favourite actors in Telugu and about the budding interest among the community in making UK Telugu films. The following comments clearly show how vital films are for them in their day-to-day lives in the UK:

P103: Talking about the movies, that's the only thing we can actually relate to.

AY: So movies are acting as a bridge between you and the language for now?

Both: Yeah...

P104: If there's ever a silence or anything, we are like ... oh have you seen that film? It's very funny what he did ... it flows in the conversation.

The statement made by P103 is profound, as she considers films to be the only aspect in Telugu culture that Telugus can relate to. Moring et al. (2011) talk about the importance of media in the maintenance of an immigrant group's language and culture and say that the newer waves of immigrants benefit from these because their children have access to the resources at a very young age. This may contribute towards pride and covert prestige relating to their culture among the second generation. It has already been noted in Telugu EV factors (in 4.3) that most of the cultural programmes in community events are film-based. This way, films truly act as cultural symbols in the Telugu diaspora.

The results and discussion in 7.1 above presented the perceptions of members towards the in-group. It has been shown that the negative perceptions are those pertaining to group identity and the perceived lack of language loyalty among Telugus. On the other hand, aspects such as financial stability and the gradual increase in visibility in recent years are noted as being positive. The next section discusses what individuals (as opposed to the overall group) think and feel about using Telugu and English, and how they are relevant to their lives in the UK, alongside the data.

## **7.2 Attitudinal Factors**

In the index analysis (6.1) it was shown that this is the only factor where the difference between Telugu and English is comparatively small (mean score of TAI = 0.80; EAI = 0.84). Questions 22 to 27 in the survey were aimed at understanding the functional and emotional vitality associated with Telugu and English. A rather generic label of *attitudes* is used to encompass distinct factors, such as attitudes regarding the personal importance of HL and DL, acculturation in a predominantly English society as well as the emotional importance attached to both languages. While the ethnolinguistic factors measured what the participants think about their linguistic community, this section on general attitudes tries to understand their evaluation from an individual perspective.

Once again five-point Likert scales are used for each question and later transformed into the index scores presented in Table 7.3 below.

5                      4                      3                      2                      1  
 Strongly agree      Agree      Neither agree nor disagree      Disagree      Strongly disagree

### 7.2.1 Functional Vitality

	Telugu				English			
	Mean	Median	Mode	SD	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
Importance in India	4.49	5	5	1.05	4.14	4	5	0.93
Importance in the UK	4.10	5	5	1.11	4.73	5	5	0.51

Table 7. 2: Importance of Telugu and English in India and the UK

Participants who were born in India were asked to rate the personal importance they attached to Telugu and English while living in India and now in the UK. *Importance* here is used in a very general sense to understand the overall attitude, but it does not necessarily differentiate between functional or emotional vitality. The aim of this question was to understand if there has been a change in their opinion about the importance of HL and DL when in India and now. It was expected that English would still carry a high vitality in India, due to the functional load it carries, and Telugu in the UK would be rated low, due to the absence of its functional load or transparency (Pandharipande, 1992).

Telugu was rated more important when they were in India, but, as expected, English was not rated low either. The mean of both languages falls between 4 and 5, with Telugu only slightly higher (4.49) than English (4.14). In the UK too, a similar pattern is noticed, except that English is rated higher (4.79) compared to Telugu (4.10). Non-parametric tests revealed that there are no significant differences between the two generations, age and length of residence variables. As this question only applies to India-born participants of both generations, the UK-born group was exempted from answering it.

The importance of English in India was discussed in Chapter 2 (2.1.4). The following section shows the importance they attach to English at present.

#### *Importance of Telugu and English for Career*

	Telugu				English			
	Mean	Median	Mode	SD	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
Important for work	2.65	3	3	1.17	4.90	5	5	0.45
Important for education	2.92	3	3	1.27	4.84	4	5	0.46
Combined total	2.79	3	3	1.06	4.86	5	5	0.47

Table 7. 3 Functional vitality of Telugu and English

Career here encompasses importance given for work and education. Unsurprisingly, the data in Table 7.4 shows that the importance of English (mean = 4.9) for work is rated much higher than Telugu (2.65), and a similar trend is observed for education. The lower

rating for Telugu also persisted when they were asked to rate how important it is to settle in India in the future (mean = 3.75) (see Table 7.5 below). This means the participants do not attribute much importance to Telugu when it comes to matters of career, as exemplified in the comment below:

P9: You don't need Telugu to survive in India.

Non-parametric tests show that the differences in the mean scores are not significant when tested against generation. Therefore, these differences are only representative of this sample, but cannot confidently be ascribed to the whole population. The overall finding in this section has been that the importance of Telugu is minimal. Undeniably, English is seen as a vital aspect for career advancement, as a symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) or a job-related Economic Motivation in Karan's (2011) perceived benefit model.

### *Importance of Telugu*

	Telugu			
	mean	median	mode	SD
To communicate with other Telugus	4.5	5	5	0.71
To settle in India in the future	3.75	4	5	1.27
To preserve Telugu culture and heritage	4.69	5	5	0.67

Table 7. 4 Functional importance of Telugu

The motivation to learn Telugu to settle in India is lower for the second generation. This is because in their experience of travelling to India, English is usually adequate to communicate with other Telugus or Indians in general (see Section 6.3 for comments on overt prestige for English in India).

The importance of communicating with other Telugus (4.50) and preservation of Telugu culture (4.69) are rated reasonably well. Of the 106 who answered this question 99 (93%) said they agree that the Telugu language is important to talk to other Telugu people.

In the survey analysis it was shown that even though Wave 2 has a higher vitality for Telugu compared to Wave 1, their vitality for the dominant language is no less. Karan's (2011, p.145) perceived benefit model of language shift looks at the economic factors motivating language use. According to this model, individuals choose from the available set of languages to fulfil their needs. Therefore, the motivation behind learning, using or leaving a language depends on what that individual considers is important for his personal socio-economic progress. The comment by P4 shows this motivation exactly:

P4: We are in the first world. That is the advantage of being in the first world. You are a global person. So when I think in that context I definitely say Telugu is not a must (necessary) for us to live here. If I am in India, my opportunities are closed. But I have to, I have to speak or learn to read and write Telugu. And once your mind (is) set up, you know, once you are (a) globalised person you are now available in the whole world. Telugu is one little corner as far the opportunities are concerned. Therefore, for me personally (it is) not so important to live (for survival) but with the family, yes, it is important.

The functional importance of English replacing Telugu in all domains as shown in the South African Telugu community (Prabhakaran, 1991; 1998) is evident in P4's account. By describing Telugu as 'one little corner' P4 makes it very clear that Telugu's importance may be relevant as a familial language, but not as a global one (for contradicting remarks by other participants see the next section). Living in the UK and holding UK citizenship has led to an expansion of his identity as a global person and not merely a localised Telugu person. He states very clearly that as a Telugu speaker his opportunities are limited, but with English (or more correctly being a UK resident) the scope is much greater. There is much more to be understood from these comments than just the relative strength of these languages; it is a clear case of overt prestige factor (Trudgill, 1972), which is about positive views of the dominant community for socio-economic reasons (Karan, 2011). However, comments such as the ones made by P4 were not very often heard. Most participants actually said that their heritage language is very important to them, and this included the second generation. The next section discusses this aspect much more deeply.

### **7.2.2 Emotional Vitality**

Emotional vitality here means what individuals think about the aesthetics, ease of learning, prestige and historical nature of the two languages under study. In Gardner and Lambert's terms this is the integrative factor, but only in relation to the heritage language, not the second language. To recap, the participants' comments discussed in 7.1 above with regard to the 'roots' metaphor may also be classified under emotional vitality.

In Table 7.6, the data shows that Telugu has been rated higher than English in two factors: *pleasant sounding* and *classical and historical*. The overall scores indicate that there is no considerable difference between the two languages. Both are rated between 4.2 and 4.3, which is unique because such parity has not been observed for any of the other factors analysed so far. This shows that the participants attach equal emotional significance to both languages.

	Telugu				English			
	Mean	Median	Mode	SD	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
Pleasant sounding	4.61	5	5	0.65	4.5	5	5	0.86
Easy to learn	3.79	4	4	1.14	4.12	4	5	0.98
Rich with literature	4.05	4	5	1.05	4.52	4	5	0.98
Holds prestige	4.15	4	5	1.03	3.96	4	5	1.12
Classical and historical	4.48	5	5	0.86	4.23	5	5	0.94
Overall emotional importance	4.22	4.4	5	0.71	4.27	4.4	4.2	0.64

Table 7. 6: Emotional vitality of Telugu and English

However, the significance attached to Telugu is greater among the first generation compared to the second ( $p = 0.000$ ). These are the only attitude variables that show that the differences between generations are significant with respect to Telugu, but not to English (see Table 7.7). The second generation rated emotional vitality less confidently (between 3 and 4 on the scale) than the first generation (between 4 and 5). This is not surprising, because only those who studied Telugu in school or grew up using it can rate it highly on factors such as these. As most of the second generation participants have neither studied Telugu, nor use it on a regular basis (see 6.2 and 6.3), they may not be aware of literary aspects, ease of learning and the linguistic history of Telugu.

Telugu only	G1	G2	Mann-Whitney P-value
Pleasant sounding	4.72	3.93	0.000
Easy to learn	3.93	2.93	0.012
Rich with literature	4.19	3.20	0.001
Holds prestige	4.28	3.20	0.001
Classical and historical	4.57	3.93	0.008
Total	4.34	3.48	0.000

Table 7. 7: Emotional vitality of Telugu (Likert scale data)

As discussed in the previous section, for some, the functional vitality of English is quite high. However, not all participants view English as a dominant force in their lives. On another occasion a Wave 2 first-generation participant shares how Telugu is more important for her than English:

P11: Professionally, it is important for me to speak good English but personally it is not.

AY: Would you say that you give more importance to Telugu than English?

P11: For livelihood I need English, but for me to have a good life I need Telugu (*brathuku teruvuki nāku English kāvāli, kāni brathakatāniki nāku Telugē kāvāli*). For my family I need Telugu.

The emotional attachment to the HL can be seen in the contrast made between *livelihood* (functional vitality) and *life* (emotional vitality). Applying the same perceived benefits model, this may be seen not as a shift, but as a complementary distribution of both economic and solidarity motivations. Motivation to solidarity-related social identity, as the 'bond with [...] culture or subculture', is important for some participants (Karan, 2011, p.141). More about such emotional attachment is discussed in the next section in connection with attitudes towards language loyalty, acculturation, accommodation and identity.

### 7.2.3 Other Attitude Factors

#### *i) Acculturation*

One of the most critical views about the acculturative behaviour of the Telugu people found in academic literature states that the Telugus are predisposed to assimilation (Prabhakaran, 1991, p.215). The geographical location of the Telugu region (between the Hindi, Tamil, Kannada, Oriya and Marathi-speaking regions) and the history of the Nizam and British rule were claimed to be the main reasons for such assimilative behaviours. Prabhakaran's (1991; 1997; 1998) research shows the Telugus in South Africa assimilated to the Tamil group (the dominant minority) in their early years of settlement. This assimilation was found to be one of the major contributing factors to language shift in South Africa. However, since the UK group is not part of the old diaspora (see Section 2.5.2) unlike the South African Telugus, their acculturative behaviours are expected to be different, as they migrated for economic betterment rather than purely for survival.

Krishnan and Berry (1992, p.187), in their study about Indian immigrants in the US, say that 'the most preferred acculturation attitude was found to be one of integration'. To recap, Berry (1987 cited in Berry, 1997) categorises acculturation into *assimilation* (to give up one's culture to be more like the dominant group), *separation* (maintaining one's culture and avoiding others), *integration* (maintaining both) and *marginalisation* (unable to maintain either) (see Section 4.5).

In terms of language proficiency, domain use and ethnolinguistic vitality, Britain as a society, although tolerant of multi-lingualism/culturalism, does not really allow uninterrupted practice of languages other than English. Understandably, this is due to the functional dominance of English outside the home domain. In this section, the importance of English for living in London/UK is discussed.

Some of the options in question 26 aimed to understand the participants' attitudes towards acculturating with the dominant society. They were asked to rate how important English is to achieve the following objectives:

- I. To sound like the English

- II. To think and behave like the English
- III. To understand the English culture better
- IV. To feel more at ease with the English
- V. To be accepted by the English wholeheartedly

The inspiration to include this question was taken from Hamid's (2005) research study of Sylheti speakers in Leeds, which was further influenced by Gardner and Lambert's (1972) integrative and instrumental motivations for language learning. Since understanding motivations behind learning a language is not the aim of the study, the integrative options are used to determine the socio-cultural attitudes of the group towards the English group.

	5	4	3	2	1	Mean	Median	Mode	Std.Dev
To sound like the English	32%	19%	23%	17%	9%	3.47	4	5	1.35
To think and behave like them	18%	17%	25%	25%	15%	2.97	3	2	1.32
To understand their culture	28%	35%	24%	7%	7%	3.72	4	4	1.14
To feel more at ease with them	49%	36%	10%	7%	3%	4.13	4	5	1.03
To be accepted by them wholeheartedly	28%	24%	27%	15%	6%	3.54	4	5	1.21

Table 7. 8: Data on acculturative attitudes

While 51% of the participants reported agreement (Likert scale ratings 5 and 4) for the option *to sound like the English*, only 35% reported the same rating for the option *to think and behave like the English*. The mean scores are 3.47 and 2.97, respectively. This shows that more than half of the participants do not mind adjusting their linguistic features closer to the dominant group, but they do not have a favourable opinion about thinking and behaving like the English. The importance of English *to understand the DL group's culture* was also rated positively (63% agreed and 14% disagreed). The most positively-rated factor of all was the importance of English *to feel more at ease with the DL group* (85% agreement). The option *to be accepted by the DL group wholeheartedly* was also rated positively (52% agreement), suggesting a favourable attitude towards belonging to the DL society. Interestingly, the first generation rated these factors slightly more favourably than the second (see Table 7.9 below). However, these differences are not statistically significant, as revealed by the Mann-Whitney non-parametric tests.



	G1	G2	p-val
To sound like the English	3.52	3.14	0.327
To think and behave like them	2.97	3.00	0.837
To understand their culture	3.76	3.43	0.212
To feel more at ease with them	4.19	3.79	0.310
To be accepted by them wholeheartedly	3.58	3.29	0.376

Table 7. 9: First and second generation acculturative differences with non-parametric tests

All in all, the attitudes to acculturation with the DL group are favourable and show an integrative, as opposed to an assimilative or separationist, approach (Berry, 1997). However, it is important to note that favourability leans more towards the outward display of integration rather than an inward change, as is shown in the rating of *thinking and behaving like them*.

Different social, linguistic and ethnic groups acculturate differently to the dominant society. Such behaviours of acculturation can be at various levels, such as language, food, dress, values, behaviours, etc., and change overtime, as it is a multidimensional and dynamic process (Organista et al., 2010). Fishman (1972) also talks about cultural maintenance as being a stronger aspect than language maintenance. Smolicz (1981) notes *cultural distance* as an important factor of language maintenance and shift. Groups that are considered to be culturally less distant from the dominant group show trends of faster linguistic and cultural assimilation, for example the Dutch migrants in Australia (Clyne, 2003). However, research shows that groups that are culturally distant from English may show signs of linguistic assimilation – for example the Maltese in Australia (ibid.) – due to their colonial experience (Canagarajah, 2008), but may still maintain their customs – for example the Kannadigas in New York (Sridhar, 1988).

It has been shown in Section 6.2 how even the second generation participants are familiar with aspects such as food and kinship terms, and use them to maintain their identity as Telugus. In this section, different opinions pertaining to acculturation to the host society are presented to understand how the different segments of the participants have acculturated into British society.

Some Wave 1 first-generation participants expressed positive opinions about acculturating to the dominant society:

P2: When we know about each other (English group) we can understand better. I sometimes don't understand why some people do not let their children mingle with the

others. They are losing on something. Why can't they have (the) best of both worlds? Like that I feel.

P6: Let them ... let them ...

P2: Isn't it an opportunity for them? To understand both cultures.

AY: Do you mean Telugus don't mix?

P2: Not only Telugu...

P6: Yes, I have noticed the new ones are not...they want to be in their own groups.

The *some people* P2 talked about are not Telugus alone but Indians in general. Both she and her husband find that the preference to stick with their own groups may cause their children to be alienated from mainstream society and may not be good for their future. Therefore in their observation, even though they think the newer wave of Telugus are more active (see discussion in 7.1), they find the Wave 2 group to be distancing themselves from the dominant culture. This is an important point to consider because in P2 and P6's perception, Wave 2 appears to be heading towards preservation in Schumann's (1986) terms, or separation in Berry's (1997) terms. Their fear might also be that the Telugu community might become marginalised and lose access to the opportunities that mainstream society provides. However, does practising one's own culture lead to marginalisation, or have the Telugus found a balance between the two cultures? This question is dealt with in more detail below.

Ethnic exogamy is commonly observed among second-generation Telugus. Contrary to what is said of the endogamy practised in Indian groups (Audinarayana, 1990; Uberoi, 2000; DeFoe and Svoboda, 2000; Myers et al., 2005) Wave 1 Telugus are more open to mixed marriages (evidence from community magazines that show wedding pictures; see Field Notes, 2016). For example, P2 and P6's family have positive notions about the local culture and feel quite at ease with it. Their daughter is married to a native English speaker who has a positive attitude towards Telugu and wants his children to learn the language. They try not to look at the dominant community's culture as being any different from their own. In P2's opinion these cultural differences vanish with familiarity – the following comment exemplifies this:

P2: My friends say that they don't feel that as well, 'she is just (name). We don't feel that, oh! You are Indian we are English'. You just have to see them as a human being.

The favourable condition for integration, Berry (1997, p.10) observes, is that it can be pursued only when 'the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity'. P28 and P25, who were among the Wave 1 group interviewed, also expressed similar opinions about the dominant community and their willingness to mingle within it. However, a favourable attitude towards the dominant group is not to be understood to mean that Wave 1 is not fond of its own culture. All Wave 1 participants

were interviewed in their homes and it was observed that when it comes to matters of food, clothing and religion they follow their own traditions:

P28: ... to be honest Arun, because you are talking about Indian culture, I find that people identify with me through my *sarees*. Now all the older ladies, Indian ladies, are wearing sarees. They used to wear trousers and now they wear *sarees*. Because to be honest (the) English way of dress doesn't suit an older person and that's why they start ... all of them. I don't change for other people, they should take me for what I am otherwise ... get lost (laughs).

Even though wearing a *saree* is not about being a Telugu exclusively, P28 views it as an aspect of identity and in doing so clearly positions herself as being unlike the English (separateness of preservation). Similarly, very often maintaining cultural aspects such as food habits can play an important role in an individual's or group's perception as symbolic representation of their culture (Fishman, 1972). It was shown in 6.2 how the second generation is able to identify aspects related to its culture. It was also shown, depending on second-generation participants' exposure to Telugu customs, that they develop a liking for them. The aspect of food as a Telugu cultural marker is often picked up. The first generation is fond of Telugu food and considers it an integral part of Telugu identity (see Section 2.4.4). P5 and P4 share what is often heard among first-generation Telugus:

P5: They should (G2) know about our culture, customs, dress and *gōṅgūra*. They should not forget them.

P4: It costs £2.48 for a small bunch of *gōṅgūra*, but it must be bought (laughs).

Overall, the general impression seems to be that Wave 1 has positive attitudes towards the DL community. This is evident in their settlement locations (mainly suburban English locales), friendship networks and family relations. Having lived in the UK for so long, they were observed to be well acclimatised to the dominant group, while maintaining their own traditions in a moderate fashion, that is, acculturation but not assimilation (Schumann, 1986). Having said that, none of their children can speak their language very well and from what has been observed their social networks consist predominantly of native English speakers (as shared by Wave 1 second-generation participants in interviews).

All the Wave 2 first-generation participants interviewed were asked if they had any second-generation Telugus in their social networks apart from their own children. To this, the common response was *no*, and some (P14, P15, P16, P65, P100) qualified this with statements like *they don't mix with us*. When the Wave 1 second-generation participants were asked the same question, P1 responded saying that they have their cousins in India and other UK-born second-generation British-Asians, but not the first-generation Telugus, who are younger than their parent generation. Unfortunately, there is no research available on the social contacts (or lack of them) between the second generation of the early arrivals and first generation of the later arrivals. Therefore, it is hard to judge what these opinions really mean. However, in informal contexts, the term *desi* is often

employed, pejoratively, to mean a person born in India or Pakistan and *coconut* (brown outside and white inside) for an immigrant who is thought to be completely assimilated with the dominant society. Research based on inter-generational relations (i.e. discordance or affective disposition) and their role in language maintenance remains a topic to be explored.

Though length of residence did not return any significant differences in acculturative behaviours, based on the interview observation it may be said that those who have been living in the UK for a longer period have a more positive attitude towards British society. The first generation from Wave 1, having lived in the UK for over 30 years, has positive attitudes with respect to maintaining relationships, but when it comes to culture at home there is a strict maintenance of Telugu customs, such as food and dress habits. However, some Wave 2 first-generation participants who have been living here for less than five years expressed opinions about not being keen on mixing with the local population:

P12: ... the culture is the important aspect. I don't think I am able to accept their culture. Because I am brought up differently. It's not like I don't speak to them, but I am not very friendly with them either.

AY: Among your circle of friends, do you have English and Telugu friends?

P12: There are colleagues but no friends (who are English). To be honest I don't think there is anything common between us.

AY: What about Telugu?

P12: Almost all are Telugus, only two or three Tamils.

P12's view of herself and the dominant society as *us and them* clearly shows that she seeks separation from the out-group (Berry, 1997). It may be said that her religio-cultural background (as shared by P12 in the interview) is the basis for the separation.

However, this is not a recurring opinion expressed by the participants. Research into LMLS of South-Asian communities in UK and elsewhere shows that religion plays a very important role in the maintenance of their language and identity as well as acculturation to the host society (Hamid, 2011; Fernandez and Clyne, 2007). For example, the Hindu Tamils in Australia showed better signs of language maintenance compared to the Christian Tamils because of the former's religious dissimilarity with the dominant group (Fernandez and Clyne, 2007). P11 also expressed similar opinions to that of P12, but about linguistic assimilation. P11 reported that she used to be fascinated with the English accent before she moved to the UK:

P11: At that time I was fascinated by it, but later slowly over the years I came to the opinion that communication would suffice.

I: What do you think about your level of English?

V: It has to improve. Professionally only. Now I am not in that phase of speaking like them (native speakers). I am not that fascinated about it now. But professionally for me to grow it is (important).

In P11's case, both age and exposure have led her to the conclusion that sounding like the English is not important, although speaking good English is essential for communication and career progression. P11 and P12's opinions are good examples of change in opinion over time, where the overt prestige for English diminishes and the covert prestige for the HL increases. P11 and P12 are also among those participants who said they would like to return to India in the future. Clyne (2003) finds that those who wish to settle in their host societies show more favourable attitudes towards acculturation than those who wish to return.

In contrast to the opinions above, not all Wave 2 members feel they want to distance themselves from the dominant group. Although the general preference – for a majority living in locales such as Eastham and Hounslow – is to socialise with their own linguistic community, they are not averse to maintaining good relations with the English community. P65, as shown earlier, runs an accounting company based in Hounslow:

P65: Fortunately, I never had any issues, you know, (being) incorporated into the English community. Initially a bit ... problems were there but after that, we got used to it. Slowly, I went forward, spoke to them and just got used to it that's it. But mainly I never felt it as a problem. With my clients, neighbours, I never think in that angle when I am talking to somebody else. So because I never thought that way, interaction was never a problem for me. If we feel, what will they think, what will they think, if that problem is in us, obviously when we speak that reflects in our speech. So if we think that they are also human and we are also human then it's not a problem, you'll have a general communication.

What P65 shared was about having the confidence to communicate with native speakers. As he later explains, one of the main reasons other Telugus do not have a good relationship with the native population is because they are not confident about their English and hesitate to communicate with them. As he has his own consultancy and interacts with native speakers on a daily basis, he is comfortable about maintaining good relations with the dominant out-group.

It is said that, with age, attitudes towards heritage cultures and languages also change. Among migrants, the younger members may have more favourable attitudes towards the dominant out-group (Clyne, 2003). They may want to be different from their parents' generation (Coulmas, 2013), but as they age, they search for a sense of belonging, and at that time their language is a very important resource for finding that sense of belonging (Fishman, 1991). Perhaps this is why it is important to teach children their heritage language (including literacy skills), even though they may not be able to use it extensively at present. In Section 6.2 it was also shown how G2 participants would have liked to be able to speak, read and write their language well. The next section will show some of the

fears parents associate with teaching their language to their children, and highlights the misconceptions they have.

### *ii) Parents' Fear of Bilingualism*

Some parents reported that they fear their children may be left behind if their home language is Telugu. This is an often-repeated concern in immigrant studies (cf. Hamid, 2011; Prabhakaran, 1991; Mesthrie, 1992). Some parents said that they spoke to their children in English in order to give them a good start at school. For example, P65 spoke about his son's experience of learning English at home from him and his wife:

P65: We were preferring more English than Telugu even at home because when he was little, he had to go to nursery...if I start teaching him Telugu, then he will be having issues while communicating with teachers, so that fear was there. So, initially, I used to talk to him in English, so he completely got used to English only, now he can't even talk one word of Telugu.

The fear expressed in this case is said to be a very common one among immigrant parents. Beardsmore (2003) cites several studies that expose such fears about bilingualism in children in immigrant communities. One such study was conducted by Harding and Ripley in 1986, in which they found that parents feared that bilingualism stunted their children's linguistic development. Even though P65's fear did not explicitly concern the linguistic development of his child, it certainly is about the inability to communicate in times of need. What is notable, however, is that he finds it regretful that his son now cannot speak any Telugu.

There are other reasons for not teaching their heritage language:

P27: Telugu is not important here and I don't think it is important personally because if he (the son) wants he will be able to learn it very easily. I was able to learn German (as an adult), it doesn't mean you should only learn it as a child. Language is just a protocol. I agree that he may not be able to gain the adeptness in it to write poetry but he will be able to communicate. So, I do not agree with the *bhāṣā cādaṣṭam* (linguistic fastidiousness), I mean that militancy is not good, the dogmatic view...

In the above example, the parent presented several reasons for not teaching his son his heritage language. First, Telugu is not required for his son in the UK. Second, it can be learnt if he needs it in the future and third, teaching HL amounts to linguistic fussiness.

In spite of the advantages associated with bilingualism – including cognitive, linguistic, cultural and career-related factors (Grosjean, 2001; Dewaele, Housen and Wei, 2003) – there appears to be little awareness about learning multiple languages, and a view persists that Telugu at home may impede the child's ability to learn the dominant language.

### *iii) Accommodation*

In Section 4.5 I discussed communication accommodation theory, based on Tajfel's theory of intergroup relations as a socio-psychological dimension in the study of

sociolinguistics (Giles et al., 1973; Sachdev et al., 2013). The purpose of this section is to understand whether Telugus prefer convergence – that is, adjusting their language to suit the out-group – or maintenance – that is, continuing to use their own language. Generally, groups that are perceived to have less power, such as migrant groups in English-speaking countries, are observed and even expected to display upward convergence (Sachdev et al., 2013). However, this convergence need not always be a power play; it may also be a politeness strategy.

Brown and Levinson's (1987) distinction of positive politeness and negative politeness (see Section 4.5) is particularly useful to understand the relationship between accommodation, politeness and language shift. Sometimes negative politeness, and thereby convergence, could lead to parents (or community members) not using their heritage language in the presence of monolingual English speakers. If such practices limit input in the HL, that may also cause an impression of linguistic inferiority and possibly language shift. Therefore understanding attitudes towards accommodation is vital to the community's confidence in using their heritage language in inter-group communication settings.

Question 22 in the survey asked the participants to rate on a five-point scale how they would change their language behaviour in a situation where there is a majority of Telugu speakers and only a few L1 English speakers. A rating of 5 indicates speaking only in Telugu, therefore maintenance; and a score of 1 indicates complete accommodation. The results are presented in Appendix 9g. Out of the 94 participants who answered this question, only 9% chose complete accommodation and 11% chose complete maintenance. A majority (55%) chose the option of speaking in Telugu most of the time. Only 5% of the respondents said they would speak predominantly in English and 20% said they would use both languages equally. Even so, the data suggests that both first- and second-generation participants favour maintenance over accommodation. Mann-Whitney non-parametric tests revealed no statistically significant differences.

Contrary to the survey findings, the results in this section suggest that the participants favour more accommodation (use of English) rather than complete maintenance or even divergence. In the following example, P25 (the oldest participant in the study), talks about his opinion about using the Telugu language in a group:

AY: Why should you not speak in Telugu at that time (when there are other language speakers)?

P25<sup>36</sup>: Because the other person who is not a Telugu-speaking person he won't understand what we are talking about and would feel left out. In a group of ten people let's say, if there are two or three in a corner they want to communicate between themselves, which is not meant for the general public, I can understand that. If the subject matter is for

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<sup>36</sup> P25: W1FG, male, 78 yrs, Ilford, retired.

all people to understand, the person who is unable to speak Telugu will be left out. That is unfair. In my opinion anyway. That is what I try to do all the time.

By saying it is *unfair* to use Telugu when there are other speakers present, even at a predominantly Telugu gathering, P25 takes a strong stance against *maintenance*. This also suggests that he considers any such behaviour to be an act of divergence meant to disassociate oneself from others. Having lived in the UK for more than 40 years, P25 has a very favourable attitude towards the dominant group and is more open to convergence than divergence.

Even the Wave 2 first-generation groups, who are so far known to have a more favourable attitude towards language maintenance, said they would converge. Similarly, for P65, who interacts with Telugu people on a daily basis at work, it is also about the context and register (formal vs informal):

P65: In (the) office, I use Telugu sometimes because I have a team in India and I use Telugu with them, and here (in the UK) one or two Telugu people are there and I speak with them in Telugu sometimes. Sometimes I speak in Telugu and sometimes in English.

I: When do you speak to them in English?

P65: Depends on the situation. If I am very much into professional...if I am thinking too much into the office side of it then I talk to him in English. When it is casual, I talk in Telugu only.

It is interesting that he uses English in formal contexts (functional importance) and Telugu for casual conversations, such as during lunch breaks, etc. He further explains that the reason he chooses to speak in English at work most of the time is because he does not want to be disrespectful to the others around him:

P65: It is not good, they don't know what I am talking about and I feel that is disrespect(ful) for the people, especially when somebody is around I definitely speak in English.

In the case of P65, a high vs low diglossic relationship between English and Telugu is visible, which is self-imposed because he is one of the founding partners in the firm and many of his clients are actually Telugus, so there may not be much objection if he used Telugu for rapport-building purposes. But in his opinion, that rapport can be built in private conversations at lunch rather than in the office.

As seen above, one of the main reasons why there could be such hesitation to speak in their heritage language is to not offend other language speakers. This is one of the most common opinions expressed during the interviews. The following excerpts about language at work from the Eastham focus group exemplify attitudes towards offending others. P18, P19 and P17 live in the same Eastham neighbourhood and work in IT companies:

P18: If there are Telugu people, we speak in Telugu only. But if there are any non-Telugus we speak in English so that we don't discriminate (offend). But we speak in Telugu when we go out for lunch, etc.



Most participants agree that using their heritage language to speak among themselves may create misunderstanding among their non-Telugu colleagues. From this discussion, it appears that the need to portray a positive face is high, and therefore a sense of accommodating others linguistically (also see 7.1 discussion on lack of visibility) was observed among the Telugus. To interpret this in another way, from what has been observed in the field interaction and interviews, Telugu speakers try to accommodate other speakers by changing their language.

From my attendance and interactions at various Telugu events, I could gather that English and Telugu are used almost equally, even at events meant for Telugus. By this I do not mean code-switching, but literally the presence of at least two hosts, one speaking Telugu and the other speaking English. This practice can be observed in any Telugu festival celebration organised by the cultural associations, because very often there would be chief guests belonging to other language communities, especially those in politics. Most of the print communication is in English and the association magazines publish articles in both languages. In one seminar on the Telugu language in The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), the speaker acknowledged the presence of Telugu and non-Telugu speakers, promised to speak in both languages equally and translated into English quite frequently.

In this section we have seen how different waves and generations felt about accommodating their language. Contradicting their response to the survey question, they expressed a more or less favourable attitude towards accommodation. The observational findings also indicate that the Telugu community always takes into account the presence of other speakers and finds ways to accommodate them. So far, *preservation* (Schumann, 1978), *separation* (Berry 1997) or *complete maintenance or divergence* (Giles et al., 1973) have not been observed in the London Telugu community. This shows that the attitudes of the Telugu people towards the dominant language are positive, which means that language maintenance behaviour that might benefit from *separation* does not appear to be prevalent.

#### *iv) Telugu as a Core Value of Identity*

Language as an aspect of the core value of a group has been discussed in Section 4.5. Cultural groups differ in the extent to which they emphasise their mother tongue as one of the core values (Smolicz, 1981; Smolicz et al., 2001). In many ways this question has been addressed in other sections. It has been shown how the second-generation participants maintain their identity through maintaining contact with their relatives, participating in cultural events and through aspects such as food, films, etc. In this section, their responses to direct questions about whether they would consider the ability to speak Telugu as a core value of their culture are explored.

When asked whether to be called Telugu they have to speak Telugu, there were mixed reactions. To some, the ability to speak the language constitutes a vital aspect of being Telugu, and to others is it not.

Some feel they are not emotionally attached to the language and it does not matter if Telugu is not spoken by the next generation:

P3: What will really happen if my children can't speak Telugu? Nothing. I am not worried about it at all ... there is no need.

It must be noted however, that both P3's children (in their late 20s and India born) are fluent speakers of Telugu. His superior fluency in his mother tongue has led to using only Telugu at home and also led to language maintenance in the home domain (see discussion in Section 8.1.4).

Similarly, P27's attitude towards language maintenance, which he calls *bhāśā cādaṣṭam* (being fussy about language) has been discussed in the previous section. He does not see any reason why there should be so much thought given to this topic. In his opinion, language is not the only important aspect of one's life and it can be learnt if required in the future.

For P14, being a Telugu is partly about following Telugu customs and traditions and not so much about language:

AY: Who do you think are Telugus?

P14: In my opinion, Telugus are those who follow the Telugu culture, Telugu tradition, (consume) Telugu food...someone who follows everything that counts as belonging to Telugu culture, is a person of Telugu identity, to me.

For P15 and P16 (FG participants), on the other hand, identity is only in the language. P16 clarifies practices such as food and says factors such as holding a British passport do not make or break the identity of a Telugu person. P15 follows suit, saying in India (where there are similar cultures between different peoples) the main identity factor is the language. Therefore for him, speaking Telugu is important to maintain that identity. By contrasting this with what P103 said, we find that the second generation's perspective of identity is pan-Indian and therefore macroscopic and the first generation's identity is regional, therefore microscopic:

P16: Identity of Telugus is only in the language.

AY: Language?

P16: Survive wherever, eat whatever, not just Telugu food, 'we only eat bread and jam everyday' nothing like that. It's all about identity of the language, that's it. Whether you want to recognise (identify yourself) as a Telugu or you don't want to recognise, just because you have got a passport, you are here in this country for 20 years, if you don't want to recognise yourself as a Telugu, that is their problem.

P15: If you are in India, you get confused by seeing the people. You can directly ask 'what is your mother tongue?'. My mother tongue is Telugu, you are a Telugu, my mother tongue is Tamil, and you are a Tamil.

For P103, ancestry itself is sufficient to be labelled as a person with a Telugu heritage. Language does not play as important a role as traditions, such as festivals. Interestingly, she likes the customs in spite of not knowing the rationale behind following them. Therefore, traditions or customs are considered a core value rather than the language. Also, note how this second-generation participant brings out the Indian identity when asked about Telugu. This aspect comes out time and again among the second-generation participants because their association seems to be with Indian-ness and Indian culture more than with Telugu-ness:

AY: Let's say you have never learnt Telugu and your children also grow up never learning Telugu. Can you still identify yourself as a Telugu person?

P103: I think it's like it depends ... it's like a half-and-half situation ... your parents are still Telugu and they grew up in a Telugu environment even if they don't speak in Telugu, we would still consider them as someone from India and someone...even if they don't know it ... A part of (the) Telugu community I guess.

AY: If you do not speak the language, what identifies you as a person belonging to the Telugu community? What sorts of values are being transmitted to you as Telugu values?

P103: Celebrating festivals ... *Sankranti*, *Ugadi*, *Dussehra* ... that's three main ... even though we don't know the story why we celebrate them, we still like the traditions.

From the discussion so far, there are mixed opinions about Telugu being a core value (Smolicz, 1981). The overall perception seems to be that language is a core value for the first generation, but for the second, Telugu-ness can be found in other aspects as well. This is very similar to the findings in many Indian diasporic identity studies (for example Brah, 1996; Bhatt and Bhaskar, 2007; Ahmed, 2006), where the second generation's idea of the imagined India is different from the first generation's idea of experienced India. For the former, their Indian identity allows them to feel part of the larger ethnic group, but for the latter, their experience of differences and similarities in the source country lead to a more specific viewpoint of in-group affiliation.

### 7.3 Summary of Attitudinal Aspects

In Chapters 6 and 7 we have seen the behavioural aspects (language proficiency and domain language use) and attitudinal aspects (ethnolinguistic vitality, functional and emotional vitality, acculturation, accommodation and identity) of the new diaspora Telugu community in London.

The quantitative data clearly shows that language shift within the second generation is a possibility. This is further strengthened by the fact that Wave 1 second-generation participants are mostly passively bilingual; that is to say they can comprehend but not

speak Telugu very well. On the other hand, Wave 2 second-generation participants are able to use language in their home domains and to a limited extent with each other. However in both cases, there is subtractive bilingualism (Landry and Allard, 1987; 1992), that is to say that the probability of the dominant language replacing the heritage language in all domains is high. A few close-knit networks do exist for Telugus, and in such cases a high maintenance of language and culture is observed. Favourable attitudes towards English, unawareness of the benefits of being bilingual in HL and DL and lack of network and support structures can be named as contributing factors to language shift.

Furthermore, in this chapter it has been shown that, even though participants' attitudes towards their heritage language are positive, the vitality assigned to their culture and tradition receives mixed reactions. Living in a cultural setting such as London, we have seen how some of them used other Indian groups to compare their in-group and assign a low vitality to it. However, where there is a more cohesive settlement, the attitudes towards their language as well as their customs and traditions are not only favourable, but are also manifested in their practices. No inter-ethnic discordance is observed in the attitudes expressed, therefore the environment is more conducive to integration (Ehala and Zabrodska, 2011) or possibly assimilation. This means that the out-group is perceived positively and there is therefore no need to be on guard through preservation (Schumann, 1986) or separation (Berry, 1997).

Factors such as the use of computer-mediated technology, travel and a positive view towards maintaining the relationship with the source country may all be seen as ways that could help migrants maintain their language. The Wave 2 first-generation group is the most active. Their children (not the Wave 2 second-generation participants in the study), who are still very young, seem to be using more Telugu than the Wave 1 second-generation participants ever could (see close-knit community discussion). Their participation in community events also shows that they are happy to be part of Telugu culture. Even the Wave 2 second-generation participants in the study celebrate their Telugu identity through aspects such as food, festival and films.

To use an analogy here, if the first generation prefers *avakāya* or *gōngūra* (both authentic Telugu food items), the second prefers chicken tikka masala, which is an amalgamation of British and Indian cultures (Ahmed, 2006). This is not to say that they all fit into these classifications. Out of the first generation, some Wave 2 first-generation participants may prefer their *avakāya* to be very hot, but Wave 1 would be happy with a mildly hot pickle. Similarly, within the second generation there are those who prefer fish and chips and yet enjoy a curry once in a while, and there are also those who prefer a Telugu melodrama to a James Bond film.

## Chapter 8: Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to understand the attitudes and behaviours towards heritage language maintenance among the new diaspora first- and second-generation Telugus who immigrated to London, UK. Over the last five decades the Telugu diaspora has relocated to make the UK their home, amidst changing historic and political events in India, globalisation (the global demand for high-skilled personnel) and varying immigration policies in the UK. In this chapter I will endeavour to share my findings both empirically and theoretically, but first brief answers to the research questions are set out below.

RQ1 Is Telugu reported as the dominant language of proficiency and usage by the first and second generations and does its use extend beyond home?

Telugu is the dominant language for the first generation as it is their first language, and they use it in the home domain. Where close-knit networks exist (Wave 2 first generation) it extends to neighbourhood and friendship domains, for example, Eastham and Hounslow. Within the second generation, Wave 2 has oracy skills and home domain use, but passive competence was observed in the Wave 1 second-generation group, indicating the completion of language shift, with English being used even in the home domain.

RQ2: Are there any differences in the vitality pertaining to the functionality and emotional importance assigned to Telugu and English by both generations?

Both W/G groups assigned high vitality to English. The first generation of Wave 2 assigned high emotional vitality to Telugu.

RQ3 Do both first and second generations view their heritage language as an important aspect of their identity living in London/UK?

Language is a core value, but so are other aspects, such as food, festivals and culture. For G2, however, an ethnic identity as Indian or hybrid identity as Indian-British is more relevant than a linguistic identity.

RQ4 Do the Telugus transmit their heritage language to their children?

They want to, but Wave 1 could not do so, due to several factors, including their past experience of living among the native population and infrequent connections with the Telugu network in the UK and India. With respect to Wave 2, they have more opportunities for HL maintenance, but English enters the home domain after the children start school. However, community activities to teach children their HL are stronger and could possibly lead to HL maintenance in the future.

## 8.1 The Contribution to Knowledge

The most significant finding of the study is that language shift among the new diaspora Telugus in London occurs within the second generation. This is in line with what Pandit (1979 cited in Prabhakaran, 1991) noted about the Indian/South Asian communities in general and in contrast to what Haugen (1953) noted as the classic three-generation LS pattern.

To use the rubric postulated by Fernandez and Clyne (2007, p.174-75) to measure the level of maintenance, the Telugu community can be said to rate *medium to weak* for Wave 2. In other words, people within the first generation (or the parent generation) use the HL among themselves and to their children, but the children respond in English (or the dominant language). Wave 1 may be rated as having *weak maintenance* as there is an increasing tendency to use English among all generations.

Clyne (2003) and Canagarajah's (2008) findings regarding a carried-over colonial experience may also be attributed to the Telugu community, due to the high vitality ratings assigned to the dominant language and the favourable attitudes towards acculturation and accommodation. However, it cannot be said that the whole community has such favourable attitudes, and some of the exceptions were discussed in the previous chapter.

If learning a new language leads to 'repertoire expansion', this is called additive bilingualism. If it replaces the earlier variety it is called subtractive bilingualism (Edwards, 2012, p.13). This is very much true for the second generation, as it is made up of predominantly passive bilinguals in the heritage language, due to the decreasing number of opportunities they have to practice Telugu.

### 8.1.1 The First Generation

The analysis of language proficiency points out that the first-generation participants display confidence in both Telugu and English. This is not surprising, as these participants across both Wave 1 and Wave 2 have professional qualifications and were required to acquire English language skills (oracy and literacy) before embarking to the UK. They also learned their HL in India during their primary education in which, predominantly, the first or second language either as a medium or language of instruction would have been Telugu.

Having spent their childhood in their home country, both the first-generation groups of Wave 1 and Wave 2 have woven political, cultural, familial and societal experiences through the thread of language and tradition in their upbringing. This has had a significant influence on

their outlook towards the Telugu language overall, bringing familiarity and loyalty into the picture.

In defining language loyalty, Crystal (2008, p.267) says 'many first-generation immigrants to a country are extremely loyal to their first language, but attitudes vary in the second generation'. This claim, to a large extent, may be applicable to the Telugu community living in London. Language loyalty is defined as the concern to preserve the use of language, especially when it is threatened (ibid.). In observing the differences between the two first-generation groups from both the waves, it becomes clear that language loyalty differs also with respect to the time of arrival and the conditions of living. Additionally, the perspective towards one's own culture changes, based on the acculturation an individual goes through.

The Wave 1 first generation was not a large population and did not have the opportunity to settle together into a neighbourhood to enable social interaction in their heritage language through the decades of their integration into UK society. But they show continued maintenance of the HL through their usage in their home domains and regular visits and communication with India.

In slight contrast to Wave 1, the next groups showed the ability to live in specific locations, helping to build networks within the community. Therefore, the examples show that although English usage is predominant in the workplace, familial and community interactions help maintain not only language, but also culture (participation in Telugu association activities, cultural events, language classes, etc.). In addition, a subtle assertion of Telugu identity is evident in this group.

Another key observation is that the first-generation Telugu immigrants did not have to leave behind their heritage language of necessity, because their purpose of immigration was economic betterment and not survival. In other words, they are part of the professional diaspora (Cohen, 2008). Their types of professions required them to interact with locals on a daily basis. Also, having a strong need to establish themselves professionally and financially to attain a higher standard of living helped them to culturally integrate with the locals. Therefore it is no surprise that they are proficient in the use of the English language in their daily lives.

'The factors contributing to language maintenance and shift are diverse and complex, making the science of prediction elusive, if not impossible' (Hornberger, 2012, p.413). First of all, it is customary to blame colonial rule for the language shift that South Asian communities go through (Canagarajah, 2008). This was due to the English education introduced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was only strengthened by adopting English as the associated official language after Indian independence. English is extensively used in India,

including the Telugu region, for education and administration. Therefore, it is not a surprise that the Telugus living in London, many of them highly-skilled professionals, have a good working knowledge of the then colonial, now global language of English. This means the first generations are not L1 monolingual anymore, as some past studies (for example Haugen, 1953) found them to be. The classic first-generation L1 monolingual, second-generation L1 and L2 bilingual and third-generation L2 monolingual classifications are no more applicable to the Telugu community than to many professional diasporas in the Anglophone geographies.

#### *Why is there Such a Difference between the Findings for Wave 1 and Wave 2?*

One of the challenges (if not the only one) is that the first generation of the early arrivals could not transmit their language and, to some extent, their culture, owing to their experience of living in dispersed locales. It was also shown in the earlier chapter (Section 7.1.2), how the change in Indian identity from a poor nation to an emerging economic power has led to the revival of cultural and nationalistic pride, which in turn contributed to interest in the maintenance of the language and culture (Sharma, 2016). This means that the early arrivals (Wave 1) were not only a numerical minority, but also came to the UK at a time when India and Indian-ness were still trying to find recognition in the developed world.

Additionally, their children (Wave 1 second generation) did not have the opportunities to create familial bonds with their relatives in India, owing to expensive travel and inadequate communication options (recall the account of the *phone next door* in 7.1.2). The period of settlement also meant that there were fewer opportunities to socialise with other Telugus – they reported meeting only for festivals. The second generation could only have native English speakers in their social networks and never really had the opportunity to practise their language outside the home domain. Additionally, their exposure to Telugu media and films (which are very popular now) was totally absent. Most importantly, however, Wave 1 arrived at a time when there was little community support, and therefore their initial settlement experience was mainly about survival. Owing to their length of residence, as well as their social networks, they have a favourable attitude towards the dominant group and this can be seen in their social networks and the second generation marrying people from the native community (although this is claimed to be true in all second-generation cases). All these factors have contributed to language shift in the second generation.

The later arrivals (Wave 2), on the other hand, now have more opportunities for HL maintenance. In spite of such opportunities, English still enters the home domain once children start school. There are several reasons for this, such as the lack of awareness on parents' part as to which language should be used in intimate domains. In general, there is a



feeling that if they spoke to their children in Telugu, they would be at a disadvantage at school. Secondly, the strength of English as the dominant language of education and economic progress is a determining factor in making such a choice. Thirdly, a limited exposure to other family relations, especially the grandparent generation, also contributes to language shift. It is not entirely clear if the last issue discussed above is due to the strict immigration policy or the reluctance of family members to reside in the UK. That said, regular travel to India and visits by family to the UK contribute to the maintenance of relationships, and by inference identity and passive HL competence. It is important to note that all these reasons apply to both waves of first-generation participants, except that Wave 2 participants are greater in number (in comparison to Wave 1) and some (though not all) live in cohesive settlements. Finally, community activities to teach children their HL are stronger and could possibly lead to HL maintenance in the future.

### **8.1.2 The Second Generation**

Holmes (2013, p.54) notes that '(L)anguage shift to English...has often been expected of migrants in predominantly monolingual countries such as England, the USA, Australia and New Zealand'. As observed in other English-speaking countries, language shift is the norm, whereas language maintenance is an exception among the Indian communities living there (Pandit, 1977; Sridhar, 1988). In agreement with this statement, language shift among Telugu community members in the UK takes place within the second generation. However, the differences are subtle. If second-generation people were UK born and from the earlier wave, language shift has already taken place and generally no habitual language use has been observed. However, if they were born and lived in India for some time and arrived in the UK after the age of ten, there is still some active bilingualism observed, at least in the use of smaller phrases.

Overall, the second generation diaspora rated their Telugu language proficiency and domain usage lower than their English. Maintenance of a language depends on its usage, specifically speaking it on a regular basis. Studies of Indian immigrants in the past have shown that the general trend is for the second generation to become monolingual English speakers. However, based on community strength and the value placed on language for ethnic maintenance, the results could differ. For example, Saxena's (1995 cited in Hamid, 2005, p.60) study of the Panjabi Hindu community in Southall shows that the language is not only maintained beyond the first generation, but also that language change is taking place with a Panjabi-Hindi-English mixed code. This is because Southall is known to have a large

number of Indians, especially from the Panjabi community, and there is a sense of pride associated with the language, as it is used in religion as well as for social interaction.

In the case of the Telugu second generation, language shift is very evident, as most of them use English even at home. The UK-born second generation studied in schools, depending on where their parents settled (non-cohesive settlement) and had interaction with children from the native community. This enabled them to be highly proficient in English, but gave them limited opportunity to engage in Telugu unless it was practised in the home domain. The contact with India was also based on occasional visits to India, which did not assist in maintenance of the heritage language, either because of *ridicule* (see Section 6.3.3) or *accommodation* by the relatives in India.

The other factor is that when more time has been spent in the UK, there are more native English speakers in a person's network, as in the case of second-generation people from Wave 1. Only those who were born in India to some degree converge to their parent generation, but the competence is mostly passive, with occasional use of Telugu. This shows that language shift may take the *attrition* route with the India-born G2, as they move out of their homes, and *non-transmission* with the UK-born G2. In both cases, however, passive competence (i.e. comprehension only) is more dominant than active bilingualism. However the current India-born second generation (still very young) in close-knit communities has better opportunities for language maintenance.

Also, observations reveal that the second-generation participants do not seem to have a favourable attitude towards learning to read and write Telugu as opposed to speaking it. However, how important actually are these literary skills? I am of the opinion that this cannot be measured, either through observation or through surveys in a cross-sectional study such as this one. This is because the vitality someone attaches to their heritage language has been observed to change with age and only a thorough longitudinal study may reveal the actual nature of this change.

## **8.2 Other Findings**

Along with the significant findings listed above the following are some of the other findings related to the social-psychological aspects of the group.

### **8.2.1 Vitality of Telugu**

From the analysis, it becomes clear that aspects such as national, cultural and religious identities, richness of literature, historicity and classicity of the language, the functional importance it carries locally, nationally and internationally, and finally its usage in the media and entertainment are all very important for understanding the vitality associated with a

particular language. A basic comparison between English and Telugu shows that English ticks almost all the boxes for the aspects mentioned above. Telugu, on the other hand, does not have the same vitality in more than half of them, not just in the UK, but also in India.

*National and cultural identity:* Telugu gives its speakers a cultural and regional identity, but it does not represent their national identity as Hindi would.

*Religious identity:* It has been shown how Sanskrit dominates Hindu religious spaces. The only other Dravidian language with a religious vitality in the Hindu way of life is Tamil (cf. Canagarajah, 2013). Even though Telugu is not used for prayers, hymns or rituals, many do not consider the Sanskrit prayers different from their culture. In the Christian way of life, Telugu has its own place; with its own vocabulary as well as stylistics. The Telugu bible is extensively used in Christian worship, as confirmed by the participants in the survey. However, due to the majority of the Telugus in London being Hindus, it should be said that the place of Telugu in religion is limited.

*Literature:* Though Telugu literature has its own unique place in India, in the UK the demand for it, or pride associated with it, is quite low. However, there is a growing interest with respect to contributions to Telugu magazines and the increase in the number of world conferences on language and literature, etc. The fact that Telugu uses a script that is different from the Roman script is an impediment to learning the language. However, in recent times, new transcription technologies have become available to generate interest in Telugu literature.

Little is taught to children using traditional learning resources, such as *pedabālaśiksha*, *vemana śatakam*, etc. However, art forms such as Carnatic classical music, *kūcipūdi* and *bharatanāṭyam*, which make use of the Telugu and Sanskrit languages, are taught to some children, especially in Hindu families. Among Christian families, songs and praises written in Telugu are performed. These may be seen as attempts for language maintenance in the religious and cultural domains.

*History and classicity:* The fact that the language is recognised as a classical language by the Indian government, due to its antiquity, is not something that influences people in the way the antiquity of Hebrew, Sanskrit or Tamil does. The pride factor associated with historicity and classicity is prone to bouts of amnesia, which is brought to mind through occasional conferences and then only to those who care to attend them. This shows that the pride factor associated with the classicity of the language is almost absent.

*Functional importance:* This is a factor that does not need much explanation, as it is clear that functional vitality is restricted to the regions where Telugu is the official language. One

of the main topics of recent world Telugu conferences was about giving Telugu recognition in the world's major universities and offering courses to learn and conduct research in it.

*Media and entertainment:* In these domains, Telugu has a very significant role to play, as it is clear from the research findings that many Telugus actively seek information and entertainment from Telugu resources online. There is a growing interest in exhibiting South Asian, especially Hindi, Telugu and Tamil, films in the theatres of London, where there is a significant South Asian immigrant settlement. There is also a budding interest in amateur film-making, which is evidenced by three films produced in the last three years in the UK. Telugu people like their films; in fact, films have always bridged the gap that literature could not, both in India as well as abroad. To omit the popularity of Telugu films in a socio-linguistic research on Telugus would be to omit one of the most important cultural aspects.

In summary, pride is associated with the aspects of culture, media and entertainment: culture through festivals, arts and food, media through the internet and social media, entertainment through films and songs. To a lesser extent even classicity may be associated with the pride factor, but not to the extent of the other three.

### **8.2.2 Utility of Telugu**

Coulmas (2013) emphasises the utility aspect as the main reason for language shift. In her South African Telugu study, Prabhakaran (1998) describes 'the adoption of English instead of Telugu as a conscious choice that parents make for their children' (cited in Coulmas, 2013, p.182). In this fast-paced, competitive global atmosphere, parents seek to remove every small impediment in a child's path to success. Therefore, in the daily drudgery a special effort is required to introduce the learning of a heritage language, especially for the second generation. However, before that happens, the parents must be convinced that learning the heritage language is not an impediment to their children's career prospects. It has been discussed in the literature review how bilingualism is not an obstacle for a child's future, but in the analysis, it has been shown how the parents assume their children may lose out if they are used to speaking only Telugu at home. Such opinions spring from the fact that English has such strong functional vitality and they want their children to have the best of what is available. However, the same parents also seem to express a sense of regret for not having taught their children their language, because they are missing the connection with their culture.

### **8.2.3 Parental Pre-Conclusion**

One of the major issues that contribute to this language shift within the second generation is *parental pre-conclusion*. Some parents seem to think their children may not have the need to use Telugu in their future lives, and therefore there is no need to teach it. This seems to be a

rather uninformed conclusion to arrive at as it is not easy to predict what their children's attitudes will be in the future. Beardsmore (2003, p.10) states that there exists 'a deep seated and widespread fear of bilingualism', and such fears can act against the maintenance of a language. He lists four fears that can act against bilingualism in a society, out of which cultural fears (pressure to assimilate with the dominant culture) and educational fears (of bilingual education) can be applied to the Telugu community. Some of the second-generation participants, who have active relations with India, seem to be displeased with their Telugu proficiency. This shows that the indecision or complacency of some parents in not teaching the heritage language to their children may be questioned in the future. In my opinion, parents cannot predict whether their children are going to need the language or not, but should make all attempts to teach them everything related to their culture, albeit without forcing anything upon them. Their children may grow up to become competent users of Telugu, or they may decide to let go of that identity, and that decision should perhaps be with the children.

#### **8.2.4 Technology and Social Media Influence**

In this age of technology and powerful flow of information, there are also many ways to help children be aware of their language and culture. Communication is easier and affordable these days, and using applications like Skype, Viber or Facetime make it easier for the younger generation to stay in touch with relatives and friends in India. This will help them have a sense of cultural belonging. This is a simple way to open a channel for passive learning. Social media channels, such as YouTube, also allow them to explore language-learning videos, etc.

Recent developments in IT infrastructures and social media connectivity help them to stay in touch with India. This also helps children to develop relationships in India and have a sense of cultural belonging and pride. Literary skills may help maintenance of language in the long run, if acquired at a very young age, because children will have access to their heritage language.

#### **8.2.5 London as the Site for Study and a Note on the Preston Community**

London has been chosen as the location for this study because it is the most multi-ethnic, multilingual and multicultural geography in the UK, with a significant presence of Telugu speakers compared to any other urban or suburban locations in the country. According to the 2011 census, over 35% of London's population is foreign born, making it the most multi-ethnic city in Europe. About 6% of the London population is of Indian origin, which also amounts to about two-thirds of the total population of the UK. The census report also shows that out of all the regions, London has the highest population of Telugu speakers, which is

about 40%. As per the main language report (ONS Census, 2011), there are 5,568 Telugus in London, with most of them settled in the boroughs of Hounslow (1,370) and Newham (1,266). Apart from the demographic advantages, London has more employment opportunities than any other region, making it the destination of choice for those who migrate to the UK. The London factor in this study is that it is easier to find Telugus here, given the nature of employment of the Wave 2 Telugus (i.e. mainly IT). At the same time, London provides perfect dwelling opportunities (East and West London), where Telugus co-exist with other migrant groups. This research benefited a great deal from visits to such locations (see Section 6.3.2 and linguistic landscape discussion in 7.1.3). Many socio-linguistic studies on migrants are also conducted in London, due to the reasons mentioned above (for example, Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Rasinger, 2007; Canagarajaj, 2008, etc.). Therefore, London is the best location to conduct a socio-linguistic study of a group that is relatively smaller in size.

As mentioned in the introduction and in Chapter 4, there is an old-diaspora Telugu community in Preston. The city of Preston is diverse in its population distribution, with over 75% of the population being white British and 10.3% Indian. The percentage of the Indian population is more than the England average of 2.6% (Census UK, 2011). The Telugu community in Preston is currently in its third and possibly fourth generation. The first generation arrived from Myanmar (then Burma) during the Burmese war. As early as 1824, with the annexation of Lower Burma, the British recruited labour for the 'economic expansion of Burma', which included Telugus (Rao, 1975 cited in Bhaskar and Bhat, 2000). Many of the labourers returned to India from Burma after its independence from the British in 1948. While some chose to stay back and become part and parcel of all classes, some chose to migrate elsewhere due to the civil war. A handful of Burmese Telugus chose to migrate to the UK. Whether this movement was as a result of seeking refuge or simply making use of the Commonwealth migratory privilege could not be ascertained.

However, this group is not comparable to the new diaspora in this study, due to several factors. Firstly, the first generation was not highly educated, unlike the new diaspora's engineers and doctors. Almost all the first generation and most of the second generation are doing manual jobs, such as electricians, plumbers, shop assistants, etc. Secondly, since they did not migrate from India, their pre-immigration experience of maintaining language must be quite different from that of the current group. That said, the Preston group has maintained its language well into the second generation and it has been reported that the third generation too can speak Telugu. However, it must be said that the third generation has been socio-economically more mobile than the previous two generations, and the fourth generation (very young children) could be experiencing language shift.

Interestingly, though the Preston group lives in one location, their settlement is not ghettoised or enclaved. Field and social media observations have shown an active participation in community and religious events. The two main London-based cultural associations acknowledge that the Preston community is an important cultural organisation in the UK, and this is evidenced by their regular invitations of Preston organisers to the events in London. It has been reported that marital alliances, including the third generation, are sought from India/Telugu and as much as possible from the same caste background. See the figure in Appendix 11 that shows the matrimonial page from a popular Indian website, where a third-generation Telugu male seeks a Telugu-Reddy (caste) girl as a partner. This is very different from what is generally observed of the second-generation community in London because there is no such observed trend of linguistic or cultural endogamy. Unfortunately, such interesting aspects of the Preston community could not be incorporated into this study due to its scope and issues of scalability.

#### **8.2.6: A Note on Gender**

Fishman (1972) considers women to be the safeguards of culture and they are responsible for either the maintenance of language or shift to the dominant language, as they seem to be the ones who spend most time with the children. In this study, gender did not prove to be a significant variable. All the statistical tests, as well as the interview observations, failed to pick up any issues that can be attributed to gender. However, on two occasions, the second-generation female participants alluded to perceived gender inequalities.

One of these regarded the traditions expected of a woman, when P8 said 'I feel that my individuality, like my identity, is in my language, not my culture, because I don't completely agree with all of them. Like...our traditions...like you know...getting married young, or wearing a *saree*'. However, this was not mentioned in a derogatory manner as she proceeded to say 'I enjoy them, whereas, even if I don't do them, it won't affect me...or...um...I'm not passionate about any of them. Whereas my mother tongue I'm more passionate about'. On another occasion, a sense of being bound to the norms of being a girl was expressed by P105, when she was asked about her brother not attending a cultural event. She replied saying 'they don't come – boys get away with these (things)'.

There are certainly different expectations from females of certain cultures, as they are viewed as the upholders of tradition. However, in the case of the Telugus, this has not been noticed in an overt manner, as both men and women actively participate in community events and employment. However, to ascertain the truthfulness in these observations a different sociological study on gender is required.

### 8.3 Concluding Comments

#### **Adavini kaachina vennela (Moonlight on the forest)**

This popular Telugu proverb literally means ‘beautiful moonlight wasted on a forest’. It is used in situations where something as beautiful as a moonlit forest goes unnoticed because there is no one to admire it. In fact, this was used by a participant (P27) to describe the fate of Telugu in the UK as a result of no one really caring for the aesthetic qualities of the language, and people only wanting to use English for survival. Philosophically speaking, this is a very profound statement because, unless you are aware that there is a forest and that it is a full-moon night, you will not even think about the beauty of that landscape. Similarly, unless the second generation understands the advantages of learning Telugu, it is not aware that it is a language worth learning. Interactions with them create the impression that second-generation people are conscious of the fact that Telugu is their ancestral language and are at least passively competent in it. They also like the socio-cultural aspects, such as food, festivals, travelling to India. Also, on a lighter note, some younger participants take pride in the entertainment aspect of Telugu films.

Such an affinity is not very different from what a connoisseur of Indian culture might have, barring a passive linguistic competence and a mild personal-micro-cultural awareness<sup>37</sup>. What they seem to be lacking is a native-like linguistic and personal-micro-cultural competence. This gap between awareness and competence is very wide within the second generation and may only get wider within the third if they do not make efforts to maintain their language, culture and identity.

This situation posits an important question – why should those in the second generation learn their heritage language? In other words, what is the ‘*vennela* factor’ (moonlight factor) of Telugu? Telugu, unlike English, does not enjoy a wide currency, and even in India the relevance of Telugu in higher and technical education and for employment is questionable. In a study comparing Telugu and English medium students in (the erstwhile) Andhra Pradesh, Naidu (1987 cited in Sarsani, 2006, p.99) found that the English medium group has better chances of success in subjects such as English, sciences, and social studies. However, this does not mean the Telugu language is not capable of delivering the results required for academic success.

It must be noted that even to this day, the education system has not changed much compared to that introduced by the British in India. The textbooks were first published in

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<sup>37</sup> I define personal-micro-cultural awareness as a phenomenon where the participants can distinguish between different closely related cultures because of belonging to one personal micro-culture. For example, a tourist may view India as one cultural entity (impersonal-macro-cultural awareness) but an insider can see that the southern culture is different from the northern, Tamil culture different from Telugu culture and so on.



English and later translated into regional languages. Krishnamurti (1978) disagrees with the notion that Telugu, or any regional language for that matter, is not adequate for academic education. He observes 'although the textbooks are claimed to be original writings, many teachers and students report that they are stilted and unidiomatic translations of English originals' (ibid. p.49). A recent Indian news article talks about the drop in the number of those taking public civil service exams in Telugu, which was due to a low success rate. A committee set up to assess the efficacy of these exams noted that the quality of translations must improve (Deccan Chronicle, 2015). I have also discussed in Chapter 2 how the popularity of English medium schools is increasing gradually as English is seen as an enabler.

With these challenges, it may appear that Telugu cannot match the expectations of those who seek career advancement. This is a situation that most of the first-generation Wave 1 and Wave 2 participants were exposed to growing up in India. Therefore, it is not surprising that they themselves do not find much vitality for Telugu and may not see how it can benefit their children. This is precisely the reason why we have seen in the analysis that even the first generation ends up operating full time in English and moonlighting in Telugu.

That said, acquiring Telugu has many other advantages. It is clear that in this global scenario where English is the dominant language, there is no functional vitality observed for Telugu, unless communicating with family members is counted as one. We have seen in the interview analysis that some second-generation participants are not able to maintain good relations with the grandparent generation due to the language barrier (cf. P28, P65) and some feel out of place when they travel and a sense of lost identity (cf. P8). Learning the mother tongue in an immigration setting is crucial because it allows us to move beyond the survival stage (Fishman, 1972) and experience deeper aspects of life, such as familial interactions. An increase in HL interactions may also result in an increase in the HL social network, which in turn can make them confident and take pride in their own language and culture. Such pride and respect could instil appreciation of their ethno-cultural heritage and help them overcome the sense of linguistic inferiority expressed by some participants (see 7.2.4).

Like many languages, Telugu has an extensive body of literature from several time periods, can be used in education to teach all kinds of knowledge and has a rich tradition of music, drama and folk arts. Telugu-language media has grown exponentially in recent times, making itself relevant for modern life. Above all, the functional importance of Telugu is at a more personal than a global level. The beauty of learning the heritage language is about turning around and journeying towards the core of one's cultural identity, and this includes

maintaining relations, understanding idiom, appreciating various cultural core values, such as folk, proverbial, classical, literary, humour, politics, history, crafts, education, science and so on. Finally, the story of Telugu language maintenance in London is neither a happy nor a tragic one. There are compelling reasons for language shift among the children of the earlier as well as the later migrants. On the other hand, nowadays in the world of the internet, some success stories of young children speaking their mother tongue are being advertised as achievements. This shows that the community as a whole is beginning to take pride in maintaining its language and culture. With improvement in their economic status, some want to make their lives more meaningful by staying in touch with their roots, while maintaining good relations with the native group. However, what the future holds for Telugus depends on how organised they are going to get in the next few years. Whether they work together as a cohesive community, or are divided based on regional affiliations, will have different effects on the group overall, both favourable and unfavourable. However, at present Telugu as a language and culture still seems to be holding the community together. A true test of perfect language maintenance for any migrant language community is when all the generations of the HL community are able to speak their language in more than just one domain – all the other language skills are a bonus.

### **8.3.1 Beyond This Study: Future Directions**

In the UK setting, firstly, an ethnolinguistic vitality study of a combination of Tamil-Telugu-Kannada members, comparing the perceptions of each, will be very useful as it will give a clearer perspective on how the Dravidian linguistic communities would rate each other. This may help reduce the polarised results that are usually seen in studies comparing minority and dominant groups. Furthermore with growing cohesive immigrant settlements, it helps to understand which of the minority communities are gaining or losing prestige and vitality. This may also be extended to other Indian or South Asian language communities. Secondly, a socio-linguistic study of the Preston Telugu community will be a great value addition to the field and language group, as it is probably one of the oldest Telugu communities, being currently in its third generation. Finally, a longitudinal research study on the effectiveness of Telugu cultural centres as heritage language institutions will be a research that could benefit the Telugu diaspora here and elsewhere.

In the larger Telugu diaspora setting, linguistic studies of the Telugus in Myanmar, Bangladesh and Malaysia could contribute to the dearth in linguistic literature covering Telugu groups. Similarly, a participant-observer research of the Sri Lankan Telugu gypsy community from a sociological and historical angle would be a great value addition as well. More needs to be done within this community as this variety of Telugu appears to be endangered.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1 – symbols often used to represent Telugu language and culture



#### From left to right

First row: Telugu Talli (mother Telugu holding the PūrṇaKumbham in the right hand and paddy crop in the left), Telangana Talli, Statue of Buddha in Hyderabad, Charminar (the iconic symbol of Hyderabad) and Medak Cathedral (second largest diocese in the world after the Vatican)

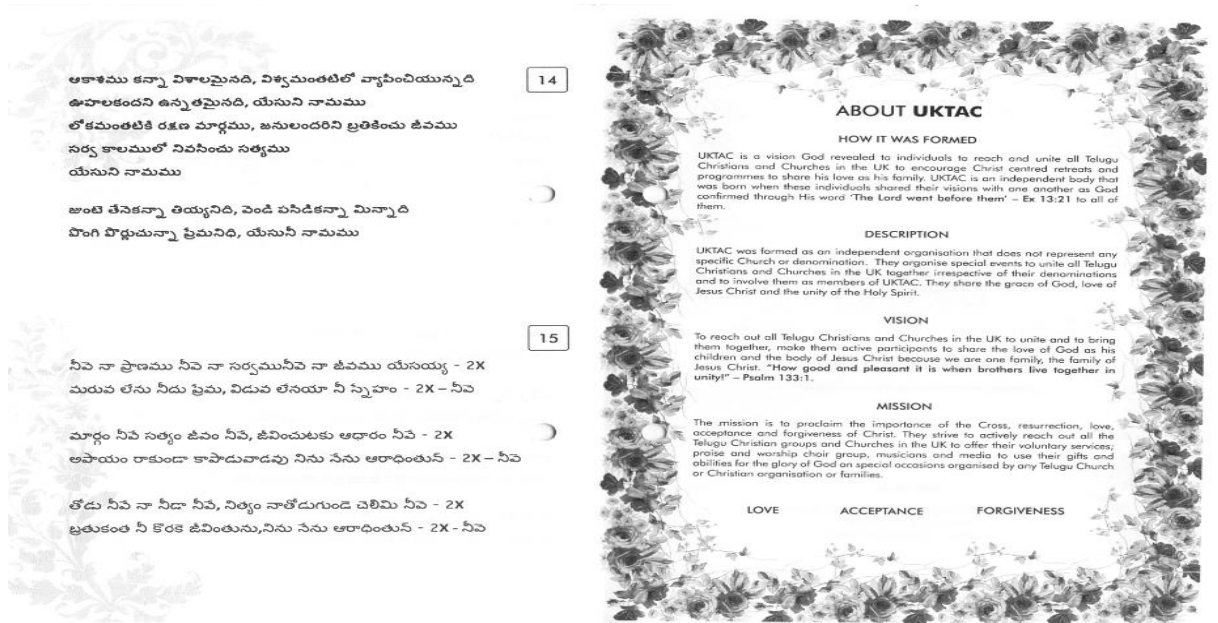
Second row: Balaji temple in Tirupati (most visited place of worship in the world), Kakatiya Toranam, Warangal, Kuchipudi nrityam (the Telugu classical dance form), the Carnatic classical maestro Tyagaraja, the oral story-telling art form, Burrakatha

Third row: Avakaya pickle made of raw cut mangoes, Gongura leaf chutney, Andhra Pesarattu (a dosa made from mung lentils), a typical spread of Andhra meal served on a banana leaf, the Telugu new year Ugadi and the harvest festival Sankranti.

*Appendix 2 – Various pictures of Telugu community events/festivals in London*

	
<p>1. Renovation of C.P. Browne's tombstone (2012) (courtesy: TALUK)</p>	<p>2. Cricket tournament (2015) (courtesy: UKTAS)</p>
	
<p>3. Ugadi celebration 2014 – (courtesy: TALUK)</p>	<p>4. Sankranti celebration (courtesy: TALUK)</p>
	
<p>5. Telugu church 2012 (courtesy: UKTAC)</p>	<p>6. politicians and celebrities (courtesy: UKTAS and TALUK)</p>

### Appendix 3 - Telugu Christian prayer booklet sample (Eastham)



### Appendix 4 - A popular cinema in Feltham (Hounslow) showing a Telugu film

**Akhil (Telugu)**

**Release date:** 23/10/2015

**Running time:** 121 mins

**Synopsis:** Akkineni Akhil makes his debut in this eagerly anticipated, effects-packed Telugu action fantasy. The younger son of Telugu filmmaking legend Nagarjuna Akkineni, Akhil Akkineni explodes onto the screen in his debut leading role. Although he had a brief cameo in Vikram Kumar's 'Manam', this is the first opportunity fans have had to see this latest member of the great acting dynasty demonstrate his action skills and charisma on screen. Subtitled 'The Power of Jua', the film that bears its star's name is directed by V.V. Vinayak, whose credits include such Telugu hits as 'Dil' and 'Tagore'. It also marks the screen debut of the latest member of another legendary Indian acting family: Sayesha Saigal, who's the daughter of Sumeet Saigal and Shaheen Banu, and grandniece of Dilip Kumar. Produced jointly by actor Nithin and his father Sudhakar Reddy, the film's release was delayed to complete its state-of-the-art effects work. It promises to be well worth the wait.

**Screening types:** 2D

### Appendix 5 – Bathukamma

(from left to right) Bathukamma floral decoration and an association banner with the picture of the chief minister of Telangana state. in Hounslow 2014. Image courtesy: Telangana NRI forum (TeNF).



### Appendix 6- Telugu in the landscape

Some Indian grocery shops in Eastham and Hounslow have the names of items displayed in Telugu.





## Appendix 7 – Survey Questionnaire

### Part 1: Biographic information.

1) Please choose the option that applies to you

☐ settled in the UK (British citizenship and/or PR holder)

☐ temporary stay (work assignment, study etc as well as their dependents)

☐ other: if other please specify \_\_\_\_\_

2) Are you?.

☐ Male

☐ Female

3) Please state your month and year of birth in 'MM/YYYY' format.

\_\_\_\_\_

4) Where do you currently live in London?

\_\_\_\_\_

5) What generation are you? – choose the option that applies

☐ First generation - I was born in India and later moved to the UK as an adult.

☐ Second generation - I was born in India but moved to the UK as a dependent child

- ☐ Second generation - I was born in the UK but my parents or at least one of them was born in India

5a) Where are you originally from? (Please mention the nearest town/city and state. For example, Guntur, AP. or Warangal, AP. or Berhampur, Odisha or Chennai, TN etc

\_\_\_\_\_

5b) Which year did you move to the UK?

\_\_\_\_\_

- 6) Are you married or living with a partner? (If your answer is 'yes' answer 6(a), if 'no' answer 6(b))

☐ Yes ☐ No

6a) Is your partner from the same language background as you? (If other, please mention your partner's first language in the blank space).

☐ Yes ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

6b) What is your preference for a partner ?

☐ someone with a Telugu background ☐ no particular preference ☐ other

- 7) What is your highest educational qualification?\*

- ☐ Secondary school, GCSE  
☐ Secondary school, A levels  
☐ University degree  
☐ Postgraduate

7a) If you studied in India, choose from the list below

- ☐ Most subjects taught in Telugu until 10th class or beyond  
☐ Most subjects in Telugu until primary school  
☐ Telugu as one subject until 10th or beyond  
☐ Telugu as one subject until primary school  
☐ Never read Telugu as a subject

- 8) What is your current job?\* (If you are 'not employed', 'student' or a 'house spouse' please mention the same).

\_\_\_\_\_

- 9) Which religion do you follow?

- ☐ Hindu  
☐ Christian  
☐ Muslim  
☐ Prefer not to disclose  
☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

Part 2: language use, proficiency and contact

10) a) How would you rate your Telugu language skills?

(5=very good, 1=no skill)

	5	4	3	2	1
Speaking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Reading (Telugu script)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Writing (Telugu script)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Listening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b) How would you rate your English language skills?

	5	4	3	2	1
Speaking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Reading	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Writing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Listening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11) a) How often do you read, e.g. books, magazines, newspapers, website articles, religious literature etc. in ...

(5=very often, 1 =never)

	5	4	3	2	1
Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b) How often do you write or type in ...

	5	4	3	2	1
Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

c) How often do you watch television, films, internet videos, DVDs or listen to the radio in ...

	5	4	3	2	1
Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12) a) How often do you use the following languages at home?  
(5=very frequently, 1=never)

	5	4	3	2	1
Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b) How often do you use the following languages at work (or at college if student)?

	5	4	3	2	1
Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

c) How often do you use the following languages in the neighbourhood?

	5	4	3	2	1
Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

d) How often do you use the following languages in your social gatherings or among friends in the UK/London?

	5	4	3	2	1
Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13) How much contact do you have with your family, friends and acquaintances in India?

- ☐ (5)Very Frequent   
 ☐ (4)Frequent   
 ☐ (3)Occasional  
☐ (2)Little   
 ☐ (1)No contact

14) How do you maintain contact with your family, friends and acquaintances in India?

(5 = very frequently; 1 = no contact at all)

	5	4	3	2	1
Face to face (through travel)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Video chat (like Skype)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Phone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
email or instant messaging	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Social network sites (like facebook)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Letters (post)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15) When did you last visit India?  
Please mention month and year

---

16) How many of your friends and acquaintances in this country have...

	most	many	a few	none
Telugu as their first language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English as their first language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

### Part 3: Ethnolinguistic vitality

In this part of the questionnaire, please give your opinion, that is, the way you see things - there is no right or wrong answer.

17) How highly regarded are the following languages where you live?  
(5= extremely highly, 1=not at all)

	5	4	3	2	1
Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18) How much control do you think do the following groups have over economic and business matters in the area you live?  
(5=complete control, 1=no control at all)

	5	4	3	2	1
Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(a note to the examiner: the following questions 19a-d) were combined into one matrix in the online questionnaire, that is why they are all under 19)

19) a) In the area where you live, to what extent are the following groups in the majority or the minority?  
(5=extreme majority, 1=extreme minority)

	5	4	3	2	1
--	---	---	---	---	---

Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
---------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

b) How proud of their culture and heritage are the following groups where you live?

(5=extremely proud, 1=not at all proud)

5	4	3	2	1
---	---	---	---	---

Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
---------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

c) How strong and active do you feel the following groups are where you live?

(5= extremely, 1=not at all)

5	4	3	2	1
---	---	---	---	---

Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
---------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

d) How wealthy do you feel the following groups are where you live?

(5= extremely, 1=not at all)

5	4	3	2	1
---	---	---	---	---

Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
---------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

20) How strong and active do you feel the following groups will be 20 to 30 years from now?

(5= extremely, 1=not at all)

5	4	3	2	1
---	---	---	---	---

Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
---------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

21) To what extent do you feel the following groups in the UK teach their mother tongue to their children?

(5=very successfully, 1=not at all)

5	4	3	2	1
---	---	---	---	---

Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
---------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

Tamil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

Part 4: General attitudes

- 22) Scenario: You are invited to talk at a Telugu cultural ceremony or conference attended by Telugu people mostly. However, there are a few native English speakers as well as speakers of other languages who understand English. State your agreement by selecting from the options below.

*If you have any other opinion that you want to express please state it in the 'other' space.*

- ☐ I will speak in Telugu because it is a Telugu meeting after all
- ☐ I will speak in Telugu but occasionally translate for the benefit of the other language speakers
- ☐ I will use both languages equally
- ☐ I will speak in English but occasionally use Telugu
- ☐ I will speak only in English because everyone can understand it
- ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

- 23) Do you think it is important for children of Telugu heritage to learn their mother tongue?

- ☐ Yes      ☐ No If you said 'No' please state why (optional) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_.

- 24) a) What is the level of importance you attached to these languages before coming to the UK?

	5	4	3	2	1
Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- b) What is the level of importance you attached to these languages now?

	5	4	3	2	1
Telugu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 25) If you think Telugu is important for you and/or your children, state your agreement with the following reasons

(5=strongly agree, 1=strongly disagree)

	5	4	3	2	1
Preservation of Telugu culture and history	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Preservation of the language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To communicate with other Telugu speakers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

For work (in an office or to do business)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To settle in India in the future	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For higher education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

26) If you think English is important for you and/or your children, state your agreement with the following reasons

	5	4	3	2	1
For work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For higher education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to help children with their studies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to sound like the English do	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to think and behave like the English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to understand the English culture better	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to feel more at ease with the English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to be accepted by the English wholeheartedly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27) a) In general, how do you agree with the following choices about Telugu?  
(5=strongly agree, 1=strongly disagree)

	5	4	3	2	1
Pleasant sounding	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Easy to learn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rich with literature	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Prestigious	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Classical and historical	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Useful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b) How do you agree with the following choices about English?

	5	4	3	2	1
Pleasant sounding	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Easy to learn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



Rich with literature	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Prestigious	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Classical and historical	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Useful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28) you have any general comments about Telugu language in the UK that you want the researcher to know please type them in the space below. This question is optional but your comments will be helpful for the research project.

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### Part 5 – Children and their language

If you have children please take a few minutes to answer the next set of questions about your children's language. If you do not have children, you have completed your survey. Thank you for your time and response.

Please give your observations and opinions, as before, there are no right or wrong answers

29) Do you have children?

☐ Yes ☐ Now

(note to the examiner: options up to child 4 were included in the online survey, but, no one has more than 2)

30) How old are your children?

	Under 5 yrs	5 to 12	12 to 18	18 to 25	Over 25
Child 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Child 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31) Where were your children born?

	UK	India
Child 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Child 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

32) a) How would you rate your children's Telugu language skills for their age?

Can speak, understand, read and write well	Can speak and understand well and read or write a little	Can speak and understand but not read or write	Can underst and but can't speak	Can neither speak nor understan d
---	---	--	---	---

Child 1	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Child 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b) How would you rate your children's English language skills for their age?

	Can speak, understand, read and write well	Can speak and understand well and read or write a little	Can speak and understand but not read or write	Can underst and but can't speak	Can neither speak nor understan d
Child 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Child 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

33) a) Overall, how much regard would you say your children have towards speaking in Telugu?

Please state your opinion the way you see it?

Scale: 5= 'highest regard' and 1= 'least regard'

	5	4	3	2	1
Child 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Child 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b) Overall, how much regard would you say your children have towards speaking in English?

	5	4	3	2	1
Child 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Child 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

34) In general, how much contact do your children have with your family, relatives or friends in India? (for example, grandparents, uncles & aunts, family friends etc.)(5=very frequent; 1=none at all)

5	4	3	2	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

End of survey

## Appendix 8 – Interview data collection tools

### a) Objective questions used only in the interviews

1) If you studied in India, choose from the list

☐ Most subjects taught in Telugu until 10th class or beyond

- ☐ Most subjects in Telugu until primary school
- ☐ Telugu as one subject until 10th or beyond
- ☐ Telugu as one subject until primary school
- ☐ Never read Telugu as a subject

2) Which language/s would you consider to be your first language? (If 'other' please mention the language).

☐ Telugu ☐ English ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

3) Which language/s would you consider to be your second language? (If 'other' please mention the language).

☐ Telugu ☐ English ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

4) What was/were the first language/s you learnt as a child? Circle all that apply and add the language in the 'other' field if it's not in the list.

☐ Telugu ☐ English ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

5) Which language do YOU use with the following persons?

	Only in Telugu	Mostly in Telugu	Equally in Telugu and English	Mostly in English	Only in English	Neither Telugu nor English	Not applicable
Father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Partner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grandchildren	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grandparents(Maternal)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grandparents(Paternal)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Neighbours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6) Which language do the following persons use with you? If you do not have some of these relations, choose 'not applicable'

	Only in	Mostly	Equally	Mostly	Only in	Neither	Not
--	---------	--------	---------	--------	---------	---------	-----

	Telugu	in Telugu	in Telugu and English	in English	English	Telugu nor English	applicable
Father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Partner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grandchildren	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grandparents(Maternal)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grandparents(Paternal)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Neighbours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7) How do you identify yourself?

	always	frequently	sometime	rarely	never
A Telugu person	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With the religion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With the caste	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
As Indian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
As British Asian/India	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
As British	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**b) Free flow interview questions (for guidance only)**


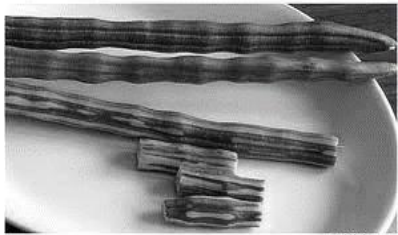
- Did you work or study anywhere else other than Andhra Pradesh or Telangana?  
మీరు పై చదువులు ఎక్కడ పూర్తి చేసారు?
- How often do you get to use Telugu living in London?  
లండన్ లో మీకు తెలుగు లో మాట్లాడేందుకు ఎటువంటి అవకాశాలు ఉన్నాయి?
- Do you have any Telugu speaking colleagues at work?  
మీరు పని చేసే చోట తెలుగువారు ఉన్నారా?
- When there are people of other languages in a group do you continue talking in Telugu with a Telugu speaker or adjust to the needs to the other speaker?  
మీరు తెలుగు వారి తో తెలుగు లో మాట్లాడుతున్నప్పుడు ఏ ఇతర భాషవారైనా మిమ్మల్ని సమీపించిన పక్షంలో మీరు మాట్లాడే భాష యొక్క ప్రవర్తన మారుతుందా? ఒకవేళ మారితే, ఏ విధంగానో వివరించగలరా?

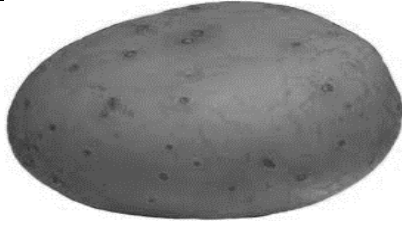
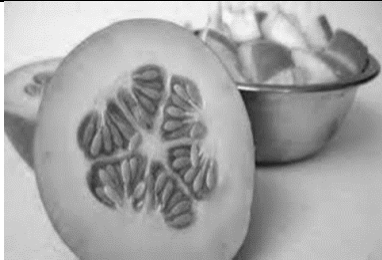





- What in your opinion is Telugu culture?  
మీ ఉద్దేశంలో తెలుగు సంస్కృతి అంటే అర్థం?
- Do you think Telugus have a separate identity among the Indian community settled in London?  
లండన్ లో నివసించు తోటి భారతీయులలో తెలుగు వారికి ప్రత్యేకమైన గుర్తింపు ఏమైనా ఉందా?
- What in your opinion is the versatility of Telugu?  
మీ ఉద్దేశంలో తెలుగు భాష యొక్క ప్రాముఖ్యత ఏమిటి?
- What is your opinion about teaching Telugu to your children?  
మీ పిల్లలకు తెలుగు నేర్పించే విషయంలో మీ అభిప్రాయం ఏమిటి?
- What are the benefits of teaching Telugu to your children?  
మీ పిల్లలకు తెలుగు నేర్పించడం వల్ల ఎటువంటి ఉపయోగాలు కలవు?
- What steps have you taken to teach Telugu to your children?  
మీ పిల్లలకు తెలుగు నేర్పించే విషయంలో మీరు ఎటువంటి ప్రయత్నాలు చేశారు?
- Can you talk about your children's attitudes and behaviours towards learning Telugu?  
తెలుగు నేర్చుకోవడం పట్ల మీ పిల్లల అభిప్రాయాలూ లేక ప్రవర్తన గురించి మీరు మాట్లాడగలరా?
- Among the Indians settled in this country, which language group or groups actively maintain their language and culture? Please state your opinion.  
ఈ దేశంలో నివసించు భారతీయులలో, ఏ భాషవారు తమ భాషను సంస్కృతిని చక్కగా పోషించుకుంటున్నారు? మీ ఉద్దేశంలో
- Talk about the awareness, behaviour, attitude of the Telugus towards their language in this country. Talk about how it was in the past, how it is now and what the future is going to look like?  
చివరగా, ఈ దేశం లో తెలుగు వారు, వారి భాషపట్ల అవగాహన, ప్రవర్తన, వైఖరి, గతం, ప్రస్తుతం, భవిష్యత్తు పై మీ అభిప్రాయం తెలుపగలరా?










### c) A simple vocabulary test for the second generation

(all pictures were shown in colour)

Can you identify the following items in Telugu?

Vegetables	Expected answer	More information
	Vankāya (Brinjal, egg plant or aubergine)	Popular in Telugu cuisine (vankāya - pulusu, pacchadi, kūru etc.)
	Munakkāya (drum sticks)	Extensively used in Telugu as well as the general South Indian cuisine – popular in Sambar.

	Bangāla dumpa, urla gadda, alugadda (potato)	Popular all over the world of course. Extensively used in Telugu cuisine (for example vēpudu, pittu, etc.) but does not represent a strong Telugu identity.
	Dōsakāya (Indian cucumber)	Dōsakāya pappu (dal) is a Telugu special
	Māmidi pandu/kaya but more specifically banginpalli	The banginpalli variety is the most popular mango in AP and TLN
	Dānimma (pomegranate)	Dānimma is extensively grown and eaten in AP and TLN.
	Jāma pandu/kaya (guava)	It is one of the most abundantly available fruit in the region
	Sitaphalam (custard apple)	Popular all over AP/TLN but grows more in TLN. This seasonal fruit is a hot favourite
	Laddu	Not a typical Telugu dish but is famous across India. The idea was to see if they could come up with other varieties from different Telugu regions, like, tokkudu laddu, bandar laddu, ravva laddu etc.

	Kākarakāya (bitter gourd)	Very popular Telugu special when stuffed with spices and fried
	Āvakāya (a super spicy picking of mango with red chilly, mustard and ground nut oil)	Often considered a matter of pride for Telugus – difficult to appreciate it for a new person
	Gōngūra (a variety of sour leaf made into a chutney or pickle)	Also known as Andhra māta (Mother of Andhra) – cant say why – but again a matter of Telugu pride.
	Annam (plain white rice)	Not specific to telugus but a simple everyday meal
The following are not specific to Andhra or Telangana culture but everyday articles and common animals found in India – the intention behind showing the pictures is to see how well they can identify such simple symbols		
	Kukka (dog)	
	Gēde or barre (buffalo)	
		Mancam (cot)
	 Surya, Date: 17.06.2012, Karimnagar-District edition, Page.no: 05 patrika (newspaper – many Telugu don't use it – so if they	Days of the week They were to say Ādivāram -Sunday Sōmavāram - Monday Mangalavāram - Tuesday Budhavāram -Wednesday Guruvāram - Thursday

Kurci (chair) – not an original Telugu word – from Persian	say it, it means they have a formal awareness)	Śukravāram-Friday Śanivāram-Saturday  They were also asked to say some numbers
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### Appendix 9 – Data tables

#### a) language proficiency ratings

<b>Telugu</b>	<b>excellent</b>	<b>good</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>no skill</b>	<b>mean</b>
Speaking (n=109)	80	18	5	5	1	4.57
Reading (n=108)	68	13	8	7	12	4.09
Writing (n=107)	54	20	9	9	15	3.83
Comprehension(108)	90	12	2	3	1	4.73
<b>English</b>	<b>excellent</b>	<b>good</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>no skill</b>	<b>mean</b>
Speaking (n=105)	54	36	10	0	1	4.39
Reading (n=105)	73	27	5	0	0	4.65
Writing (n=105)	67	30	8	0	0	4.56
Comprehension(105)	64	31	9	1	0	4.5

#### b) Medium of education data from the interviews

Telugu as the primary medium education (21.2%)	P2 (WAVE-1G1) , P3, P4, P5, P7 and P27 (WAVE-2G1)
English medium/Telugu as L1 until high school (33.3%)	P11, P14, P15, P16, P17, P18, P19, P65, P91, P100 all from WAVE-2G1 and P6 from WAVE-1G1
English medium/Telugu as L1 until primary (12.1%)	P9, P23 from WAVE-2G1 and P25, P28 from WAVE-1G1
Never studied Telugu formally (36.4%)	All 10 second-generation participants never learnt to read and write Telugu. P26 from WAVE-1G1 did not read Telugu at school but was taught at home as they lived in Bihar; P12 from WAVE-2G1 also never read Telugu formally due to their living experience in Tamil Nadu
First-generation	21 out of 23 know learnt Telugu at school formally but 22 can read and write, i.e. 97%. However, only 26% studied in Telugu medium
Second-generation	No one can read and write Telugu. Some (P105, 106 and 107) can read and write Hindi as reported by them.



c) Overall child language survey results

Tel Proficiency	Eng proficiency	Regard for Tel	Regard for Eng	Contact with India
Mean = 2.71	4.25	3.54	4.39	4.14
SD = 0.57	0.82	1.01	0.68	0.91
Children's language proficiency as perceived by parents				
Age	Child1-Telugu	Child2-Telugu	Child1-English	Child2-English
< 5yrs	2.81	2.67	2.88	3.00
6 to 18 yrs	3.21	2.60	4.72	3.80
Over 18 years	2.50	2.60	5.00	5.00
Total	3.00	2.67	4.13	3.67
Children's language regard as perceived by parents				
Under 5yrs	3.86	3.27	4.07	3.78
6 to 18 yrs	3.89	3.60	4.73	4.25
Over 18 years	3.40	3.20	4.50	4.50
Total	3.83	3.33	4.50	4.06

d) Percentage (%) of response distribution of all domain variables of T and E.

Scale: 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=sometimes, 4=frequently and 5=very frequently

Telugu		N	5	4	3	2	1	mean	median	SD
non-interlocutory domains (TDLUINID)	TDLUI <sub>Read</sub>	105	45	13	12	13	16	3.57	4	1.55
	TDLUI <sub>Write</sub>	103	15.5	12	17.5	20	35	2.52	2	1.46
	TDLUI <sub>Media</sub>	107	55	22	7.5	11	4	4.14	5	1.19
interlocutory domains (TDLUID)	TDLUI <sub>Home</sub>	108	78	12	4.5	2	3.5	4.58	5	0.95
	TDLUI <sub>Work</sub>	97	5	45	11	23	57	1.78	1	1.13
	TDLUI <sub>Neighbourhood</sub>	101	23	16	16	10	36	2.8	3	1.61
	TDLUI <sub>Friendship</sub>	104	45	19	19	9	8	3.86	4	1.29
English										
non-interlocutory domains (EDLUINID)	EDLUI <sub>Read</sub>	104	65	25	0	9	1	4.55	5	0.69
	EDLUI <sub>Write</sub>	104	71	17	0	7	5	4.55	5	0.82
	EDLUI <sub>Media</sub>	105	54	23	14	8	1	4.22	5	1.02
interlocutory domains (EDLUID)	EDLUI <sub>Home</sub>	104	21	20	30	16	11	3.28	3	1.27
	EDLUI <sub>Work</sub>	99	91	7	1	0	1	4.87	5	0.51
	EDLUI <sub>Neighbourhood</sub>	97	65	19	12	1	3	4.41	5	0.97
	EDLUI <sub>Friendship</sub>	100	46	31	14	7	2	4.12	4	1.03

e) Subjective vitality differences by generation. Mean scores only. These differences are not significant as revealed by Mann-Whitney non-parametric tests

EV factors	G1	G2	G1	G2
	Telugu		English	
Regard	3.08	2.60	4.69	4.87
Control	2.26	1.73	4.27	4.67
Population	2.62	2.33	4.08	4.80
Pride	3.60	3.60	3.90	4.07
Active	3.18	2.87	4.08	4.53
Wealth	3.26	3.40	3.96	4.40
Future	3.46	2.87	4.38	4.47
Mother tongue teaching	3.44	3.27	4.56	4.87

f) Contact with India



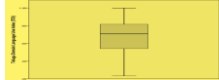

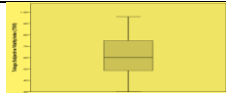
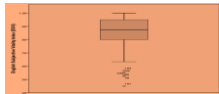


	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Overall contact with Ind	109	2	5	4.71
Through travel	98	1	5	3.12
Video	108	1	5	3.69
Phone	108	2	5	4.63
Email	103	1	5	3.95
Social network sites	105	1	5	3.84

g) Accommodation scores

N=94	Only Telugu	More in Telugu	Equally in Telugu and Eng	More in English	Only in English	median	mean	std.dev
All participants	11%	52%	20%	5%	9%	4	3.54	1.04
FG	8%	56%	14%	2.5%	5%	4	3.62	1.00
SG	0	50%	16.5%	16.5%	16.5%	4	3	1.00



Appendix 10: normality box plots and z-scores

Main Indices	T/E Indices	Visual inspection	Decision	z-score	distribution
Language Proficiency	TPI		non-normal	1.97	skewed
	EPI		non-normal	1.04	skewed
Domain Language	TDI		Normal (approximately)	-0.75	
	EDI		non-normal	2.03	skewed
SEV	TVI		Normal (approximately)	-1.84	
	EVI		non-normal	2.85	skewed
General Attitudes	TAI		non-normal	2.49	skewed
	EAI		non-normal	2.64	skewed

Appendix 11: a matrimonial ad of a second generation Telugu male from Preston

Browser address bar: ...m/profile?profileid=padd682&retrg=T3JnYW5pYy8TZWFyY2g=


Member Login | 247 Help

Register Now Search Matches Inbox More

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SH93793728

Profile created by Self



1 of 2 View Album

Age / Height : 31 / 5' 8" (172cm)

Marital Status : Never Married

Education : Masters - Engineer...

Profession : Mechanical / Prod...

Religion : Hindu

Mother Tongue : Telugu

Community : Reddy

Location : Preston, United Ki...

Interested? Take the next step...

Express Interest

Shortlist Ignore

Upgrade & unlock...

Send Email With Photo

Post on Wall

Chat Instantly

Call / Send SMS

Know more / Upgrade now

Free Matches on Email

Register Free !

Email

Password

Profile for

First Name Last Name

Male Female

dd mn yyyy

Religion

Community Language

United Kingdom

☒ I agree to the Privacy Policy and T&C.

Submit

---

Detailed profile Partner Preference

In their own words

Friendly, outgoing, and enjoy making new friends. I work hard and challenge myself. Enjoy sport, mainly badminton and squash. Like to have my family and friends around me, however enjoy my own space and time.

Would like to meet someone similar, that I can get along with and joke around. I like pet out and around doing new things. I like